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MEMOIRS
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

VOL. III. PART II.



PHILADELPHIA:
M'CARTY & DAVIS,—No. 171, MARKET STREET.
1836.

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ERRATA IN PART SECOND.

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Page 27, line 22, for "more," read "others."
51, 22, for "now," read "never."
86, 7, for "cushions," read "curtains."
99, 8, after "together," insert "where."
100, 4, dele the words "heightener of."
114, 7, for "exquisitiveness," read "exquisiteness."
115, 4th from bottom, for "was," read "were."

ANNUAL DISCOURSE,
DELIVERED BEFORE THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF
PENNSYLVANIA,
ON THE 28TH DAY OF APRIL, 1834,
ON THE ORIGIN
OF THE
INDIAN POPULATION OF AMERICA.

BY B. H. COATES, M. D.

Es ist nicht möglich alles zu erklären was in der grauen Vorwelt dämmt; es ist nicht möglich alles zu erklären was die Natur in ihrer Werkstätte bereitet.

Vater, über Amerika's Bevölkerung.

It is not possible to explain every thing that glimmers in the twilight of grey antiquity—it is not possible to explain all that is prepared in the laboratories of nature.

At a special meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, held at Philadelphia, April 28, 1834 :

It was resolved that the thanks of the Society be presented to B. H. Coates, M. D., for his learned and interesting discourse pronounced this day, and that he be requested to furnish a copy for publication.

(Extract from the minutes.)

J. R. TYSON, Secretary.

ANNUAL DISCOURSE.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

In compliance with the suggestion of the venerable president of the society, the subject which has been selected for the present occasion, is the origin of the Indian population of the American continent. A suggestion from such a source must necessarily call forth the best exertions which could be appropriated to its execution. Yet it is with no pretended fear that we approach the task. Standing unconnected, or related only at a remote angle, with the course of professional pursuits, this difficult and far-extended inquiry has occupied the long leisure of erudite men, who have directed to the purpose all the collected force of vast libraries, learned conversation, and the authority of monarchs. Of the results of such efforts how incompetent a sketch could possibly be comprised within the limits of your annual oration? Even impartiality and judgment in selection, the utmost praise of a compiler, are here exposed to risk, by the extent of the research, the difficulty of foreign languages, and the absence of some of the desirable books. To this must be added, if the Society will excuse one more individual allusion, the want of time, and the urgency and anxiety of professional engagements. It is with such claims to indulgence, then, that we enter upon the execution of our allotted labour, an inquiry into the origin of our Indian population.

There is something in the very selection of such a subject calculated to call forth, in a striking manner, our gratitude

to the Supreme disposer of things, for the blessings enjoyed by our nation. In search of a subject, we are going beyond the history of our own progenitors. The narrative of our own race, is short, simple, and soon exhausted. Freed, with few exceptions, from those great catastrophes which furnish materials for history and romance, it offers little but a detail of uninterrupted prosperity. It was well remarked by the historian, as a truth repeatedly urged on him while recapitulating the long details of the decay and ruin of the Roman Empire, that history is little but a record of the crimes and calamities of mankind, and that a want of materials to fill the swelling page, is the surest proof of tranquillity and of public and private happiness. Thus it is with the settlement of Pennsylvania. Its records may be said to exhibit but three events—the primitive foundation, the French war, and the revolution. The rest of our brief period is filled with abundance of every thing that exalts the prosperity and character of a nation, every thing that ministers to human happiness and worth, every thing that can furnish a recollection of the past, in which virtue may take delight, and examples which may be fearlessly trusted for the future; every thing, in short, but the effusion of human blood, the conflagration of cities, and the death of patriots and martyrs upon the scaffold. Our remaining annals neither glow with military ardour, nor mourn the decline and fall of ancient empires or free and enlightened republics. Nothing appears but the gradual and monotonous growth of uninterrupted and unexampled prosperity.

To abler hands than ours be it then left to select, amid the history of our progenitors, new subjects on which the mind may be excited to the contemplation of former wisdom and virtue. Be it ours to seek, amid the traces of a feeble and ruined race, materials which, however incompetent the manner of their exposition, at least possess, at the present moment, the advantage of greater novelty.

The origin of our Indian population is an obscure and difficult problem. Deprived of the light of history, or the uncertain but sometimes useful gleams of fable, the materials are to be sought in a few vague and contradictory traditions, in an investigation of the similarity of language, in the form and local arrangements of coasts, in the resemblances of different races of men, and in the influence of climate, locality, and habit upon the human form, features, and complexion. In the discussion of these different views, we are continually disappointed by the uncertainty, the contradictions and often the entire nullity of the inferences which they afford. "America," exclaims a recent German writer, "is truly a new world. An immense continent, separated, during the thousands of years to which the records of history extend, from all connexion with the old, containing numerous tribes and nations of human beings, speaking four hundred languages, the most diverse and frequently the most totally disconnected by the loosest bond of analogy in the derivation of their words, or even in the nature of their grammars, totally in ignorance of the laws and catastrophes of the great nations of European and Asiatic antiquity, unacquainted with each other's existence, except as far as the mere vicinity—every thing presented, on the first advent of the Spaniards, the appearance of entire dissimilarity to all with which they were previously acquainted." Manners, language, customs, habits and traditionary history, all were new and unheard of; so much so that writers have been found, nursed and still remaining in the most settled habits of reverence for the sacred writings, who notwithstanding avowed the opinion, that they discovered in America the product of a new creation. And when, in later times and after a wider extent of discovery, the whole habitable circumference of the new continent had become known, Europeans seem to have given the preference, by common consent, to that hypothesis of its population which refers the arrival of the primitive colonists to

the very remotest point ever reached in the navigation of the globe. And when we arrive at that point, the difficulty and obscurity of the subject do not end here. Not only are the analogies in appearance between the American Indian, and the direct race of his supposed Mongol progenitor, few, vague and uncertain; not only does the evidence in favour of a similarity of language and manners diminish instead of increasing with the growing extent of inquiry, but we find the very road of communication obstructed. The Aleutian islands, the peninsula of Alaska, and the neighbourhood of Behring's Straits, are found occupied by men of another race, dissimilar in their appearance from either the Mongols or the Americans, and possessing an unquestioned and close analogy in physical characters, and a near resemblance in language to the Esquimaux. Nay, the researches of the modern learned go still farther; and it is now yielded as a settled point among philologists, that, judging from the languages of the vicinity, not only is the evidence wanting that America was peopled through these regions from the Asiatic continent, but there is the strongest reason to believe that emigration took place in the other direction, and that the north-eastern extremity of the older world was actually colonized from the new!

Such and so great is the obscurity which pervades, to the latest moment of inquiry, the question of the origin of our American Indians. We might almost say of this, as has been said of the cholera, that Providence seems to have left it in darkness, with the express object of reminding us of the weakness of the human intellect; and of our dependence upon a higher power. And yet there is much to compensate us in the interest and grandeur of the inquiry—the source of the population of a third part of the world, and that section of the world our own of the unfortunate heroes of three demolished empires, and of various warlike republics, whose attachment to liberty preserved and asserted their rights, either

to the era of final deliverance from foreign invasion, or to that of the utter annihilation of their lives. The contemplation of such objects is expanding to the mind; and, if the results of our labours be involved in too much mystery, there is an attraction to human curiosity in the mystery itself. It is pleasant to walk in the track of human intellect, to follow the traces of profound and penetrating apprehension, untiring assiduity and accumulated knowledge, to witness the never-ending and still diversified struggle between the restless mind of man and the infinite obscurity which surrounds him. The problem of the American population is not solved; but the language of the Aleütian islands has now a written grammar, coasts have been surveyed far into the unmeasured recesses of northern frost, and the innumerable dialects of the wandering tribes who range the deserts of central Asia, or haunt the American forests and savannahs have been described, catalogued, and reduced to classification. To men of our own nation, the origin of the fast forgotten races that are vanishing before the axe of civilization, must always be an object of curious and humane interest; and to Pennsylvanians, in particular, the attractions of the subject should be heightened by a consciousness of the oft repeated efforts which their annals exhibit to arrest the progress of devastation by the arts of peace. In no state have more persevering attempts been made to preserve the cruel but generous savage from annihilation, by the authority of Christianity and the protection of industry and knowledge. From the society of Friends have emanated those exertions, crowned with a modest but substantial success, to teach the arts of civilized life to the Indian, the good sense and practical utility of which have attracted the applause of foreign critics; and from the Moravian towns of Pennsylvania have issued those devoted missionaries, who have borne the cross of Christianity and the banner of civilization, in meek usefulness, through every clime,

from the frozen deserts of Greenland to the torrid regions of Surinam. Be it allowed to us, then, to feel, in these exertions of our fellow-citizens, all the chastened pride which the contemplation of so awful a subject as the diffusion of religion may permit us to entertain.

The study of Indian races possesses also a deep interest as a physiological problem. The new sciences of anthropology and ethnography, closely connected with our subject, and deriving from it some of their liveliest illustrations, are now justly considered as among the most splendid and profound triumphs of the human intellect. Throughout the countless throngs of the American tribes prevail a style of physiognomy, and a configuration of the human frame, which afford a subject of interesting contemplation to the physiologist; while their innumerable languages, exhausting the most persevering labour of the philologist, afford new and enlarged views, in themselves attractive and imposing to the mind, and lending a curious and instructive light to the general mechanism of language. With these encouragements, we shall proceed to the accomplishment of our obscure and doubtful task.

When, on the discovery of America, a crowd of new objects presented themselves at once to the view of the astonished invaders, their first impression was, as it is well known, that the nations and regions which met their eyes belonged to the same continent with India. Traces of this belief are evident in the names which they imposed; in the denomination West Indies, and in the application, familiar among ourselves, of the term Indians to the natives of this section of the globe. As long as this impression continued, it was not difficult to account for the peopling of the newly discovered territories. These being supposed continuous with Asia, it could hardly be made a question how inhabitants emigrated to them. But after the discovery of the South Sea, by Nugnez de Balboa, and particularly after it was ascertained, by the romantic and

adventurous expedition of Magellan, that a vast ocean lay between the new conquests of Spain and the long sought for India, at once arose the difficulty which has since exercised and perplexed so many philosophic minds.

From this moment inquirers began to lose themselves in a wilderness of conjectures, founded upon loose or solitary analogies, the bare enumeration of which, with the arguments intended to support them, would occupy a space which we can but ill spare, and which may serve to point out the complexity of the subject and the extreme scantiness of evidence. Thus we have authorities in favour of the origin of our Indians from the Egyptians, the Israelites, the Canaanites, the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, the primeval inhabitants of Spain, the Celts, the Germans, the Chinese, the Hindoos, the Japanese, and the Tartars. Of these, though in an investigation of them there is much of ingenious conjecture and wild and romantic narrative, we shall content ourselves, at present, with this cursory notice; and we shall proceed at once to an analysis of what appears best established in probability. It is hardly necessary to add that we shall not attempt to pierce the veil of thick darkness which hangs over the connexion of this remote people with the Mosaic account of the colonization of the world. Every attempt of this kind which has been made, and by the ablest hands, has only served to place in a still more conspicuous point of view the insufficiency of the human intellect when directed to subjects upon which it has not pleased the God of nature to place evidence within its reach.

We are met at the threshold by the theory, that the American natives are a separate race, and received their being from a different act of creation; a doctrine having its origin as far back as the whimsical Paracelsus, who thought that each hemisphere was peopled by a separate Adam; and which has since received the accession of several distinguished names,

and among them of that of Voltaire. It is attempted to be confirmed by the undeniable fact of peculiar animals in great numbers and variety being found attached to our soil. To discuss this question would lead us far from our object; and we shall, therefore, waive those arguments which prove the human race to have descended from a single original progenitor. We shall only remark, that no reasonable man, who compares the races of mankind, can for a moment fail to observe that the difference in the appearance of the American Indians from the inhabitants of several regions of the old world is incomparably less than that which exists between well-known and familiar branches of the population of the latter. An aboriginal American far more nearly resembles a Malay or an inhabitant of farther India, than the latter approximates either to the white European or to the African. We should, therefore, rather assume a separate Adam for the last-named variety of mankind, or for the Chinese or ultra-Gangetic Indian, than for the American. Much, however, need hardly be said to refute a theory which, besides its incompatibility with the records of revelation and with the doctrine of species in natural history, would, if carried out, lead to the assumption of an independent creation of mankind for each one of a dozen detached islands, if not for all these originally found peopled with uncivilized inhabitants. The art of navigation affords an easier solution of the difficulty; a solution which we shall shortly apply to the colonization of America.

In classifying the population of our continent, it may, in the first place, be now esteemed as a conceded point, that the whole extent of the extreme north is inhabited by a people of a distinct race. Greenland, Labrador, the whole northern border of the main land of America, the sea coast adjacent to Asia, including the peninsula of Alaska and the chain of islands projecting from the latter towards the Asia-

tic coast, together with the portion of Asia immediately opposite, are found in the possession of tribes evidently of a common origin. This is proved by their dwarfish stature, their dark complexions, their flattened faces, evidently approximating to that of the Mongol, their habits of life, and their languages. All live by fishing, all inhabit the sea coast, and manifest the utmost unwillingness to leave it, all live in the most barbarous state of society; and all speak either dialects of the Esquimaux language, or at least languages closely approximated to this latter, both in their grammar and in the derivation of their words. In nearly all these respects, they form a most striking contrast with the adjacent Indian tribes, and most remarkably and absolutely so in the two very important particulars of bodily configuration and language. They are a race entirely distinct, and peculiarly adapted to inhabit the regions of the extreme north, in which probably men of any other origin would perish.

The proximity of land is evidently sufficient throughout the whole round of the arctic circle, to permit a people so nautical in their habits to colonize, in that latitude, the whole circumference of the globe. Not only does there exist the facility, so often cited, of navigating from Asia to America, or in the opposite direction, by crossing Behring's Straits, aided by the islands which are found in the middle of them, together with the more southerly route of communication, along the chain of the Aleutian islands, and the peninsula of Alaska, roads assigned by so many writers as those by which the progenitors of our Indians reached this continent; but in the direction of Europe the difficulties are by no means insuperable. The communication from Norway to Iceland and Greenland, discovered by the Norwegians in the ninth century, could have been, at a period still more remote, employed, as it then was, for purposes of colonization. From Greenland, the Esquimaux race appears, according to the observations of Baf-

fin and Captain Ross, to communicate by extended migrations along the chain of islands that skirt the northern coast of the bay which has received the name of the former navigator, until they reach the coast of America. Besides this, there is the additional and easy route across Davis's Straits; a voyage not beyond what could be performed in Esquimaux whaling boats, such as would be capable of serving the ordinary purposes of these adventurous rovers.

The colonization of the northern coast of America, therefore, presents no difficulty in the explanation; the only question which remains consisting in the choice between the eastern and the western routes, or between a European and an Asiatic ancestry. In this the decision is not difficult; the Asiatic route is the shorter, and that which more immediately connects it with an analogous people. Opposed to the American continent, are the Tschuktschi; a people in conformation resembling the Esquimaux, of the most barbarous habits of life, and whose language is found by philologists to exhibit a similar origin. In grammatical construction and the derivation of many of their words, the traces of this appear to be too evident for denial. As there are such visible marks of a common origin, the question of the possibility of migration across the arm of the sea which separates north-west America from Asia, is thus at once solved. But it still remains to be investigated in which direction the removal was effected. As the language of a people or race is generally presumed to have received its origin and gained its development in those regions where the inhabitants resided for the longest time in a state of social intercourse, and as this is presumed to take place where the greatest numbers and widest extent of population are met with, this principle, when applied to the present case, would indicate that America was the birth-place of this singular variety of mankind, and that the Tschuktschi were, in reality, a colony trans-

mitted to Asia. Enough, however, is observed to show the possibility of a barbarous people performing this journey; and if we can permit our imaginations to revert to a period so ancient as to be prior to the formation of a language, we may easily refer the earliest origin of the race to a Mongolian, or, as usage has styled it, a Tartar ancestry. The analogy to the Mongol population, so commonly ascribed to our Indians, is with the Esquimaux quite sufficiently visible. The whole conformation of the face and head is the same; the only remarkable difference between them in physical structure consisting in a reduction of stature. This is so natural a result of the action of cold and a deficiency of food in obstructing the development of the human figure, as certainly not to constitute a difficulty; and is, as is well known, common to all the inhabitants of the remote north—the three great races of Esquimaux, Samoyedes, and Laplanders.

The Mongolian origin, and the passage by Behring's Straits, and by the Aleutian islands and peninsula of Alaska, which we have thus attributed to the Esquimaux, have been also assumed as belonging to the whole mass of American Indians. Urged with the genius and taste of the historian of America, Dr. Robertson, this has become the settled opinion within the British islands and in the United States; and on the continent of Europe, though inculcated with less confidence, and with a hesitation which is the offspring of greater knowledge, it is taught and defended by the learned editor of the *Mithridates*. In the present state of opinion, the various degrees of importance which may be ascribed to this hypothesis, with the different modifications which it may be made to undergo, must naturally form a large part of what remains to be said upon this difficult subject.

There is, then, no doubt of the possibility, and if other objections to this theory could be surmounted, of the very great probability of the original colonization of America from

Asia, by one of the two north-west routes already indicated. At the Straits of Behring, the two continents are said to approach so nearly as to make the island which lies in the middle of them visible from both shores. There is certainly no impracticability in performing such a voyage in favourable weather, by means of very rude canoes; and it is by no means certain that, in this high northern latitude, the two sides of the straits have not been connected by ice. There are so many circumstances under which it is easy to conceive that individuals of a barbarous people, might pass from one continent to the other, that it appears quite unnecessary to resort to any forced hypothesis to account for it. Without feeling any need of the supposition that these two parts of the world were once united and afterwards separated by an earthquake, it may suffice to suggest that hunters and fishers, in want of food, and meeting, from various causes, with difficulty in supplying themselves from the productions of their native territory, might become desirous of trying the advantages of the opposite coast. At other times, families in canoes might be blown off by storms. In short, there is no difficulty in exhibiting the practicability of what, as we have above stated, appears to have actually taken place, a migration between Asia and America.

The next argument which suggests itself to our consideration, is that America appears to have been settled by a savage people. "We may lay it down," says Dr. Robertson, "as a certain principle in this inquiry, that America was not peopled by any nation of the ancient continent which had made considerable progress in civilization.—Even the most cultivated nations of America were strangers to many of those simple inventions which are almost coeval with society in other parts of the world, and were known in the earliest periods of civilized life with which we have any acquaintance. From this it is manifest that the tribes which

originally migrated to America, came off from nations which must have been no less barbarous than were their posterity at the time when they were first discovered by the Europeans. For although the elegant and refined arts may decline or perish, amidst the violent shocks of those revolutions and disasters to which nations are exposed; the necessary arts of life, when once they have been introduced among any people, are never lost. None of the vicissitudes in human affairs affect these, and they continue to be practised as long as the race of men exists. If ever the use of iron had been known to the savages of America, or to their progenitors, if ever they had employed a plough, a loom or a forge, the utility of those inventions would have preserved them, and it is impossible that they should have been abandoned or forgotten."

This reasoning is used in favour of the origin of the aboriginal Americans from among the northern branches of the Mongolian race. It is certainly entitled to very great influence in directing our attention, in the present inquiry, not to the great civilized nations of antiquity, at least in the state of refinement in which we meet with them in history; but to savage and uncultivated hordes, or to isolated families of barbarians. If the races who founded any of the empires of the earth, really furnished the original colonists of America, it must have been at a period long prior to historical records, and while they were yet unacquainted with the elementary arts alluded to by the historian we have quoted. The principle extends to the art of teaching domestic animals. If the colonists were aware of the luxuries derived by the rudest people from the services of the latter, we cannot suppose that they would have settled a vast continent without either carrying with them some of those they originally possessed, or availing themselves, throughout their widely extended inheritance, of the opportunity of taming those they found there.

The application of the above argument is obstructed by the fact of the extreme difficulty of selecting a nation of the old world, in a state of destitution of so many of the most simple and necessary arts as the people of our own continent. The race of their proposed immediate progenitors, the Mongolians, is found in our earliest histories possessed of the services of horses and cattle, of some other domestic animals, of iron, and of several mechanical inventions which were not met with among our American Indians. Even the most barbarous tribes of Africa are possessed of iron, and acquainted with the services of the horse, and frequently of the elephant. The most refined nations of our continent, the Mexicans and Peruvians, as their inventions proceed, exhibit the strongest marks of having achieved their own civilization. Thus they used volcanic glass as a substitute for iron; arranged their calendar upon a different principle, and made their approximations to the art of writing in a manner, curious and wonderful from its extent and usefulness, but evidently altogether independent of foreign assistance. Where they reduced animals to servitude, these, as the Peruvian Llama, were peculiar to the country, and not the offspring of Asiatic progenitors. Other tribes, as our own immediate predecessors, were found destitute of nearly all the most common implements of labour, and of all domestic animals, of whatever species, with the exception of the dog. Neither horse, camel, dromedary, elephant, ass, cow, sheep, goat, nor any of the domesticated fowls, were found in the possession of our Indians; and the dog differs so widely from his prototype of the old world as to have been thought a different species.

The comparison with the Mongolian race, in general, thus fails in point of barbarism; and in order to make the argument of Dr. Robertson operate in their favour, it is necessary either to suppose for their migration a time of great antiquity, when these arts had not yet been invented, or to disco-

ver a tribe in great and peculiar destitution. The comparison which Professor Vater makes of the Americans with the Tungoses is applicable here; and we shall take the liberty of using it.

According to the authority of Georgi, as quoted by our author, the Tungoses resemble our Indians in having straight, black hair and little beard, or in some instances none at all. They live in a very barbarous state. A part of them, roaming upon the steppes in their vicinity, are provided with horses, reindeer and sheep; while those who obtain their sustenance by fishing are deprived of these animals, and possess none but the dog. Various analogies in habits and customs, are mentioned, in which they do certainly agree with many of the American Indians, but not to the exclusion of various other barbarous people. For example, the practice of tattooing, cited by Professor Vater, is known to be common to the South Sea Islanders. The comparison of manners appears to us to be such as can be made in many other instances; easily reconcilable with the supposition of a connexion, but very far from affording a material proof in its favour. The professor goes on to say that the next tribe to the Tungoses, the Tschuktschi, are destitute of metallic tools, admitting by his language that these are possessed by the former. In short, the arts we have here enumerated, and, with the exception of the Esquimaux, the strongly marked Mongol features and colour which this tribe are understood to possess, in common with so many of the inhabitants of Asia, are particulars which are nowhere to be discovered throughout the whole range of the American continent.

The subject of barbarism, which we have just considered, naturally leads to a general comparison of customs and manners; and in this we are compelled, from the necessary limitations of space and time, to omissions so extensive that we cannot reflect on them without pain. A very large por-

tion of what has been written on the origin of the American population has been founded upon points of coincidence in their habitual practices; and these have led a long list of great names to embark themselves in the defence of a series of hypotheses, of which we will not say that each has destroyed its predecessor, but rather that they have all perished, in the lapse of time, from the want of a coherent and permanent character in the materials of which they were composed. To such we are bound to oppose the remark, now generally conceded to be correct by inquirers into the origin of nations, that isolated examples of similarity in manners and customs ought not to be assumed as evidence of a common origin, but that these are merely a proof and consequence of the identity of the human intellect, under all the diversity of circumstances by which it may be influenced. Men of different races, placed in a similar situation, but totally unconnected with each other, will fall upon many of the same practices and observances, guided by no other lights than those which have been individually bestowed upon them by their Creator. Thus it is doubtful whether any tribes exist so barbarous as to be deprived of all sentiment of religion. In many instances, detached and unconnected with each other, men will worship the sun and moon; and will venerate thunder as the voice of a superior being.

*Tarpeis qui saepe Deis sua thura negarunt
Inclusum fuscæ venerantur caespitis falmen.*

LOUIS.

Nations in the most remote parts of the earth will be found regulating their time by the motions of the heavenly bodies; and from this cause using a division by years and months. If the progress of refinement lead them to a mathematical adjustment of these measures, they will be led to the same corrections; because the same corrections are true; and are therefore the only ones to be made, although they may be expressed or reached by the combination of different numbers. The use of the bow and spear, the feather to the

arrow, which gives the weapon augmented accuracy on a refined scientific principle, the art of navigation, and the application of fire to domestic purposes, have been found in situations the most remote and disconnected. Where nations, from the heat of their climate, are in the custom of employing but little covering, a species of savage taste, or a sort of modesty, in imitating clothing, will lead to the practice of tattooing or of ornamenting the body with indelible marks; and in regions where monkeys, apes and other anthropomorphous animals abound as familiar objects, and are used for food, the habit thus acquired, together with the indulgence of revenge in war and murder, occasionally give rise to the horrid practice of cannibalism. The return of periodical prosperity at the accession of spring and harvest, when either the climate moderates, or men gather the fruits of the earth, will yield occasion to the observance of public feasts, and to the giving of thanks to their divinities at such times; and to these they will add the monthly rejoicing at the appearance of the new moon.

On this principle we may account for many of the similarities which have been traced between practices of the American Indians, and those previously known to exist among various nations of the older world. Thus the Mexicans cannot be denied to exhibit a curious and remarkable analogy to the Egyptians in their calendar, in their hieroglyphical writing, in the style of their architecture, and even in the forms of their pottery and sculpture. And yet, although supported by such names as Athanasius Kircher, in addition to those of several other writers, the idea of the origin of Mexican civilization from that of the Egyptians would at present hardly find a single partisan. Suffice it that the Mexicans themselves, in the picture history of their country, distinctly ascribe to the cultivation of their ancestors a duration of only a few centuries; thereby confining it to a

period later by a thousand years than that in which the glories of the Pharaohs were interred in the ruins of their pyramids, and forgotten with their hieroglyphics.

Similarities have likewise been traced or attempted to be traced between the subjects of our investigations and the ancient Israelites. The effort has been made, by means of these resemblances, to point out the latter as the probable source of American colonization; referring particularly to the lost tribes, removed by the king of Assyria. This inference is principally founded upon the observance of the new moon, certain regulations respecting cleanliness, &c., and the resemblance in sound of one or two isolated words. Were we to dismiss, with a reference to what we have already said, the observations of our venerable countryman, Elias Boudinot, we should do no more than must be done by William Penn, by Adair, by Charlevoix, and by several other authorities.

We shall not at present pursue this detail; satisfied that the manners of the American Indians, considered as a race of men, are altogether peculiar, and that they bear no resemblance to any other, such as to authorize the least inference as to the origin of the former. The ancient races of mankind, in the older world, possessed, during nearly all the period embraced in history, the use of various metals, tools and domestic animals, together with certain modes of computing time, sufficient, in all, to render it entirely improbable that any of them furnished origin to the unfortunate aboriginals of our continent. We are to look for the sources of the latter, not in civilized and refined masses of men, but in remote, isolated and ignorant barbarians. These might have possessed a knowledge of fire, of navigation by canoes, of the bow, and of the domestic dog; because the latter are found widely extended in America; but beyond these they could hardly have understood any of the common arts of domestic life.

The subsequent civilization of the American Indians bears

the strongest marks of having been the labour of their own unassisted minds. The picture writing of Mexico, the greatest triumph of this curious and interesting career, may be considered, we apprehend, as the evident offspring of the painting by hieroglyphic signs with which our Missouri Indians decorate their buffalo robes, and the trees, stripped of their bark, which they employ for the purpose of preserving and communicating intelligence. We should think it sufficient, after reading the descriptions, to compare for a few minutes the figures of the former with the engravings presented in the accounts of Major Long's Expeditions. Both express material objects by rude representations, numbers by simple marks, &c. &c.; while certain other ideas are conveyed by arbitrary characters. The difference between them does not appear to us greater than must necessarily exist between the productions of ignorant warriors and hunters, living in a simple form of society, and those of the members of a complicated state, possessed of property, and even, as described by Clavigero, of a species of science and literature. Add to this that the ruder examples are met with in regions which bear a close analogy in their population to those, a little farther west, to which the Mexicans trace their origin. And if we refer to the empire of Peru, or to the civilized masses of the *Muyscas* or the *Araucanians*, we shall find every where the same character of originality; meeting in no instance with reasonable evidence of the derivation of refined customs or manners from those of any other section of mankind.

The conclusions obtained by the comparison of languages do not appear much more decided. Scarce any department of knowledge exhibits so large a mass of literary labour with so small a result produced. A few scattered analogies of sound are picked out of a great number of detached languages, totally differing in general etymology, and with their grammars and usages of diction varying in a manner truly sur-

prising, and which could not have been anticipated before the fact was known. The pioneer in this laborious task appears to have been our countryman, Dr. Barton, whose elaborate comparison of Indian words with those of the old continent is to be found in his "New Views of the Origin of the Tribes and Nations of America." Professor Vater does full justice to the labour which must have been expended upon this comparative vocabulary, of which no one was so capable of judging as himself; but remarks its inconclusive character. "Comparisons," says this learned philologist, "must not be forced. Similarity ought to be perceptible in the essential parts of words; and when discovered, should not be confined to two or three words in a language. Unsolid deductions alone can be drawn when a word, selected now from South now from North America, is compared at one time with those of the north-east coast of Asia, and at another with those of the Caucasus. To demonstrate a connexion between different languages and nations, and to afford foundations for certainty in the result, the coincidence of their words should be constant. The resemblances discovered by Dr. Barton are too slight, the languages compared innumerable, and the instances of similarity too few. These are sought for, in the present case, with much too great eagerness, and the inference of a connexion between the American and Asiatic races drawn with far too much promptitude."

The comparisons which the learned colleague of the great Adelung has himself published, certainly do not appear liable to the charge of eagerness or haste. A life chiefly expended in the study of languages, the task of first completing and then editing the Mithridates, the great philological work not of this but of all past and present ages, the authorship, as is alleged, of more grammars than have been prepared by any other individual—such are the claims of this highly dis-

tinguished scholar to act as a judge in the inquiry now before us. More qualifications could scarcely be brought to the task. With great labour, and from a variety of authorities, in every instance, it is believed, the best extant, and of which he has given us a list, he has made three vocabularies; embracing words of a similar sound, existing at the same time in the languages of America and in those of the older world.

In preparing these tables the most rigid precautions were used. No words were inserted as analogous which did not embrace at least two consonants in which the resemblance existed; and great care was taken, guided by the knowledge and sagacity of the learned author, to confine the comparison to the radical and essential parts of words, rejecting the terminations which were common to many words of the same class. Thus the Basque, and, in fact, the Latin, *te*, thou or thee, is analogous to the Mexican *te-huatl*, the termination *huatl* being that which belongs to every personal pronoun. The words selected, are those which are considered as furnishing the established and fitting tests of similarity in a barbarous language. We have not time or space to enlarge on the precautions necessary in selecting them. They should be familiar words, such as were necessary to the lonely savage, in his most simple and secluded mode of life. The personal pronouns, some mode of expressing which appears indispensable to every one who converses, the names of the elements, those of parts of the body, those of the immediate relations of father, mother, sister and brother, the numerals as far as ten, an extent of arithmetic which seems almost indispensably connected with the possession of the ordinary parts of the human body, of such a class are the words which, by common consent, that is by the opinion of a few men of extraordinary learning and industry in this research, have become appropriated to the formation of a comparative vocabulary. None would certainly seem better adapted to his present purpose.

The languages selected for comparison, among the immense mass which exist upon the surface of the earth, were those of nations and tribes from which, by their proximity to America, colonization of the latter may be imagined to have taken place. They were those of the north-east coast of Asia, excluding the more southern regions, and including the Malay; those of Western Africa, with the addition of the Coptic; and finally the ancient languages of the west of Europe, such as the Celtic, the Welsh, the Basque, the Ethonian, the Finnish, the Lapponian, the Irish, and those of Cornwall and of Brittany.

In his remarks on the foregoing elaborate and apparently endless task, the learned compiler himself acknowledges the great insufficiency of the results to produce any thing like a satisfactory impression on the mind. The evidences are too close, in his opinion, to be the mere work of chance; they furnish decided ground to presume a connexion to have existed in some manner between America and Asia, while they leave every other circumstance connected with this single inference either as regards the direction of the transition, the seat of the common stock, the time, the route, or the order of succession, in the darkness of an utter chaos.

To make comments on the foregoing product of vast learning and years of industry, would hardly seem within the province of the general reader, or of those whom both duty and inclination strongly draw to the pursuit of other arts and studies. Yet, as the following survey would be incomplete without it, we shall present the impression made upon us by the perusal of the vocabularies, of the remarks made upon them by the learned author, of the parts relating to this subject contained in a later compilation, the *Atlas Ethnographique* of Professor Balbi, with the introductory volume, and of one or two partial references to other authorities. It is that of utter hopelessness. The objections which the

learned Vater makes to the comparisons of Dr. Barton, in regard to the manner of their compilation, must certainly be considered as entirely removed, at least as far as human industry, sagacity and learning and the lapse of many years could do them away; but those which arise from the nature of the subject itself, from the inexplicable and disappointing results obtained, do appear to us still applicable in a great degree to the learned and persevering labours of the European philologist. The comparisons are still few and sparse, and selected from a vast variety of remote dialects, many of them without visible approximation or connexion. The resemblances enumerated amount, as we count them, to 104 between the American languages and those of Asia and Australia, 43 with those of Europe, and 40 with those of Africa; in all 187. We must take leave to ask whether these are sufficient to prove a connexion between 400 dialects of America and the various languages of the old world. Lost in an ocean of multifarious forms of speech, selected, as they offer themselves, from the whole length of America, including Greenland, from amid tribes the most diversified in appearance and habits, the most widely separated nations of the old world selected for the parallels; Tungoosees and Biscayans, Tartars and Boshiesmen, those who wrote the sacred language of the Hindoos, with the bards of Wales and the historians of ancient Ireland, quoted in bewildering confusion, or only classed by continents, can these coincidences be considered as leading to any available conclusion? One hundred and seven languages and dialects are compared to discover them, thus affording an average of little more than two or three comparisons in each case in which connexion is sought for. We would wish to speak of the labours of learned and illustrious men with all becoming modesty; but does not this profound investigator over-estimate the results of his inquiries when he pronounces these coincidences to be more than

the work of chance; or, to speak more correctly, are they not the effect of the similarity, among all the races of mankind, of the organs of speech? We have seen it probable that the identity of the human intellect, under the same circumstances, will lead to a similarity of manners and customs. Is it not equally evident that, from the structure of our bodies, certain sounds are produced with more facility than others, and are, from this cause, more frequently employed in the gradual construction of languages? It is, we believe, the opinion of philologists that forty or fifty letters will express all the elementary sounds employed in human intercourse in any part of the world. If the number of simple sounds be so small, will not certain easy conjunctions of them become peculiarly familiar among different unconnected nations, and is it not reasonable to presume that some of these will be employed in more tribes than one at the same time, to designate those familiar ideas which have been selected by philologists for their vocabularies of comparison? With all proper reserve, we should suggest that this principle, which is assented to by Professor Vater, appears sufficient to account for the resemblances enumerated above; and that it therefore cannot be considered proved at present that the languages of America, with the exception of the case of the Esquimaux and Tschuktschi, have any connexion with those of the old world.

We should not lose sight of the great difficulty and liability to error essentially inherent in the inquiry. Mistakes of considerable number and magnitude are unavoidably committed from the necessary disadvantages of intercourse in an unknown language, with imperfect or heedless interpreters. An amusing and yet striking example of this occurs in *Mariner's* account of the Tonga islands, where Captain Cook appears to have been misled by this cause. Among other instances, the celebrated circumnavigator gives a word as the

Tonga, for "good," whereas, says Mariner, this signifies, "give it me if you please," the native having begged for the object which Captain Cook thought he was merely praising. Again, when he asked what was the Tonga for 100,000, the savage, whose arithmetic probably did not extend so high, replied by a phrase supposed by the reporter to express that number, but which really means "nonsense" or "foolish discourse."

The prosecution of this curious inquiry, carried on, as it is, by men of profound understanding and unbounded learning, can hardly fail to lead to many highly interesting results with regard to the affiliation of the tribes of mankind both on our own and the older continent. We are bound to state that one extensive section of this field of inquiry yet remains open to future labourers. We may mention the Mayo language, now spoken in Honduras, and which appears to have been the maternal stem of the dialects of the exterminated population of Cuba, Hayti, and Porto Rico. This possesses analogies with some of the dialects of the southern ramifications of Mount Atlas, in Africa; analogies which are considered worthy of attention by Balbi. The great empire of Brazil contains numerous languages, and the relics of more, which are either unknown or very imperfectly known to the ethnographer. As these are directly opposite to the continent of Africa, across an ocean of more moderate width than that of the North Atlantic or Pacific, this circumstance, together with the constant prevalence of the trade winds, renders migration from east to west at that point by savage families a more probable occurrence; and as some other circumstances render that a point which it is interesting to examine in regard to emigration, we have a right to expect from that quarter a considerable mass of additional evidence on the difficult problem of American colonization.

Another argument in favour of the Mongolian origin by

north eastern Asia, and one generally assumed and much insisted on, is the similarity in conformation said to be met with between the American Indians and the men of Mongolian descent now encountered in Asia. This has, of late, been generally held as incontestable; and we are surprised at the facility with which persons who have been well aware of other difficulties have given in to this opinion. This is the more remarkable, as the materials for a correct judgment are so easy of access, and the point of which a judgment is to be formed so visible and conspicuous. The leading characters of the Mongol conformation are a yellow colour, a forehead rather low and contracted, the facial angle rather less than in the European, the cheek-bones wide and projecting, giving a broad and flat appearance to the face, and causing the nose to appear but little prominent, seeming buried among the other features, the opening of the eyes narrow and long, having the outer angle a little raised and the inner depressed, and the stature rather moderate, except in the extreme northern variety, in which it is dwarfish. Those of the American Indian are a colour usually styled red, cheek bones a little elevated, but not remarkably wide or projecting forwards, nose nearly as prominent, according to Blumenbach, as in the European, eyes alleged to be similar to those of the Mongol; stature moderate, proportions slender, except when civilized, employed in labour and well fed, when, according to Heckewelder, he becomes thick and muscular.

We feel as if treading dangerous ground when questioning the accuracy of an inference so generally received as that of a resemblance between these two sets of characters; but we may be permitted to inquire whether this reverence for great names and established opinions, which has so often been the means of retarding the growth of science, has not operated to a disadvantage in the present inquiry. It really appears to the writer of these sheets that there is no particular re-

semblance such as has been described, other than in the fact of a slender conformation, a quality which is easily produced in all varieties of men, by an active mode of life, without heavy labour, and with a sparing or irregular nutrition. The yellow colour contrasts with a hue which we call red, and which is certainly no shade of yellow, and resembles in no degree that of the Mongolian Chinese who are occasionally brought to this part of the world. The low forehead and facial angle are assumed by Blumenbach as a distinction of the Mongol from the Caucasian or European race, and is common to all the other nations of mankind, excepting that it is rather smaller in the negro. The form of the opening of the eyelids described as narrow, and with the outer angle raised, has not appeared conspicuous to us in the most familiar Indian faces, nor in the drawings of these people which we have seen; and certainly it is far from evident in the engraving which Professor Blumenbach has given us as an example. With regard to the next peculiarity, it has always appeared to the writer of these sheets that a confusion of ideas existed among authors, and that the *elevated* cheek bones of the American variety of mankind bore none but an imaginary resemblance to the *projecting* and *widely spread* cheek bones of the Mongol. Certain it is that the face of the American Indian in our vicinity is far from a flat one; the nose projecting, as is indeed acknowledged by Professor Blumenbach, nearly as much as in the European. Indeed, the writer of this has been informed by a member of the Missouri expedition that the prominent or Roman nose is very common among the Indians of that quarter; so much so that it is considered a mark of personal beauty, of which the warriors are frequently proud. In one tribe, according to Mr. Say, the established hieroglyphic character for beauty, was a bent line, expressing the contour of such a nose.

The face of the portrait given by Blumenbach as an il-

lustration of this race of men, is certainly wide, but by no means flat, the nose standing out in good relief. In his drawings of skulls, the bones of the nose visibly project, quite sufficiently to bring them within the bounds of the Caucasian variety, while the width just alluded to is not remarkably conspicuous. The same is equally true of the Indian skulls which I have been enabled to examine, that of a war chief preserved by the Phrenological Society, and those in the valuable collections of Dr. Samuel G. Morton and Dr. Harlan.

The portrait given by Professor Blumenbach is worthy of especial attention in several particulars. Originally published by the father of anthropological science, in his classical work "*De Generis humani Varietate nativa*," and multiplied in England and America, by having been copied in Lawrence's Lectures, this portrait bids fair, under the authority conferred by the high and long established reputation of the illustrious Göttingen professor, to become the standard of the Indian countenance throughout the learned world. It is, therefore, the more desirable, if there be any importance in attaining truth in regard to this subject, that this portrait should be a good specimen, and that the descriptions should coincide with it. Those who inspect the figure, and who are acquainted with the Indian physiognomy will be easily able to judge. To the writer of this it appears, in all candour, to bear no resemblance to the Indian countenance, either as we see it in the examples which remain scattered among our white population, or in the distinguished war chiefs and orators who are sent to us on missions from a distance. Neither does it show to our satisfaction a correspondence with the characters of the race which we have enumerated above. The portrait in question seems mainly based on the Caucasian model, but endowed with disproportionate and enormous width and thickness of feature. It is difficult to conceive why this

plate should be a fair representation of the Indian face, if, as we apprehend, under the name of Thayandaneega, it be that of the noted Brandt, who led the massacre at Wyoming, celebrated by the poet Campbell, and who was the son of a white man. The adoption of such an example is another striking instance of the errors into which very learned men may be led, by a want of sufficient knowledge or care on the part of those from whom they derive their information.

It does not, therefore, seem that the hypothesis of a Mongolian origin derives any very positive support from a comparison of the heads and figures of the two races. If the Americans be in reality descendants of a Mongol ancestry, the separation of the two branches of the family must have taken place at a date so remote as to permit the formation of distinctive characters quite as great as those which separate the latter from some others, as, for example, the Malay.

The last argument in favour of this opinion which remains for us to consider, is the tradition alleged to have been preserved among various Indian tribes, stating that their ancestors migrated to their present seats from the north-west. The Mexicans possess what appears to be a minute account of the progress and order of succession by which their nation, and others which surrounded or preceded them, removed to their present lands from the vicinity of California. The tribes still remaining in that vicinity would appear to retain many of the attributes which the Mexicans give to their ancestors; and if we receive accounts inserted in the newspapers, they are stated to have been found in this condition by some of our countrymen who have recently visited them in pursuit of commerce. The Delaware tribes, we are told, represented their own ancestors and those of the Six Nations as having arrived from beyond the Mississippi. On the other hand, the traditions of the Six Nations refer their ancestry to the vicinity of Montreal, from which they removed when

they rebelled against the Adirondacks. Among the southern Indians, or those still farther north, I do not know of this tradition having ever existed; and at any rate, it can by no means be predicated of the immense variety of tribes that inhabit South America.

Upon the whole, this tradition is certainly not without its weight; and it may not be unreasonable to concede that it seems to demonstrate emigration from the north-west to a certain extent. Yet, on the other hand, we ought not to forget that it is confined to a few tribes and nations; and again, that, for the purpose of settling such a question, it is of short duration. By the Mexican chronology, the migration described in their paintings, would seem to bear date, according to Humboldt, for their own race, about 1178; and for the Toltecs, about 544. On the part of our Delawares, it would hardly be safe to assume a very remote period. Their traditions, when express upon this point, seldom name a high antiquity; and we know of nothing to prove a higher. The Indians of our country do not, we believe, retain any account of the daring and adventurous expedition of Ferdinand de Soto. Such traditions as these, then, can hardly be applicable to a time so remote as that to which we have alluded, prior to the invention of the sword or the saw, or the reduction to servitude of the reindeer, the horse, or other domestic animals. The distances, too, which the Indians represent as having been traversed in the migrations of their ancestors, are so short as to prove nothing more than the mere direction of a movement. One is from California to the plain of Mexico; the other from beyond the Mississippi to the banks of the Delaware. It would, therefore, we conclude, be unsafe to assume these traditions as furnishing proof or strong presumption of a general colonization, at a very remote period, from beyond Behring's Straits.

We have thus, laid before us for consideration, a sketch of

the arguments in favour of the Mongolian hypothesis. I am willing to grant, with the learned Vater, that these reflections render it highly probable that descendants of the Mongolians exist among the Indian tribes; but is not the evidence very defective towards such a conclusion as that which would draw the whole population of our continent from this source? To suppose that colonies of Mongolian descent have contributed to fill the amount of the American population, is a very different position from that which refers to this explanation the origin of the whole. The one is easily received by the mind, and is indeed strongly confirmed by the physical conformation of the Esquimaux races; while the other supposition is liable, besides its vastness, to very serious direct objections. It would be giving a highly imperfect view to leave the question at the point to which we have now brought it, breaking off with the positive arguments in its favour, and omitting to speak of the independent obstacles to the admission of such an hypothesis. We shall, therefore, devote a few moments to the consideration of these.

In the first place, a very material objection arises from the form and great length of the American continent. To derive the population of the whole from the north-western angle, requires the supposition of a continued chain of colonies during a long succession of ages, acquiring and using an immense diversity of languages, and pursuing each other along the huge ridge of the great American Andes, from Prince William's Sound, in the far north, to the extremity of Tierra del Fuego, a distance of one hundred and fifteen degrees of latitude, or of eight thousand miles. This long succession of occurrences is absolutely necessary to the theory; which is thus liable to the difficulty of requiring two extensive hypotheses at once. Several hundred colonies must be imagined to have issued from the same point, all completely isolated, as their languages abundantly show, unconnected by peace.

ful intercourse, but urging each other by war and the destruction of the game, throughout a third part of the circumference of the globe. Natives of the Mexican territory are represented, in the picture history of the latter, to have occupied their present seats from a period anterior by nine hundred and seventy-seven years to the epocha of the Spanish conquest; in this manner retrograding to about the middle of the sixth century. Thus, during a space of a little less than three thousand years, the interval from this period back to the deluge, these tribes must have succeeded each other throughout this route until the colonization of South America was completed.

The traces of such a series of human waves would naturally be looked for in a tendency to a denser population in the north, from which they emanated, and where the pressure must have been greatest and the colonization of longest duration. Nothing like this is observed; the population of South America, and of Darien, Guatemala and Mexico being much greater in proportion than that of any country farther north. The marks of early civilization, too, one of the most important proofs of long residence in a fixed spot, are all, as in the older world, in favour of the tropical climates; and in the colder south, the nation of the Araucanians would seem to have possessed a degree of civilization exceeding, by a vast difference, any that can possibly be attributed to the inhabitants of the similar climates in the northern hemisphere, regions which would extend from Tennessee to Boston.

Another difficulty in the way of this hypothesis, or of any one which refers the origin of the Indian population to a single source, consists in the great diversity of physiognomical characters and physical structure which is found among them. The popular opinion on this point is indeed one powerful means of supporting the existing hypothesis. It is commonly held that all Indians are alike; and that he who has seen one of

these people has, to any useful purpose of recognition, seen them all. One uniform physiognomy is said to be common to the whole; partaking, as we have just seen, of that of the Mongolians. If this were established, it would undoubtedly have considerable weight in inducing us to ascribe them to a single origin, and of preference to that which we have been discussing. It is, therefore, the more remarkable that an opinion of so much importance, and so generally received, should differ so widely from the statements of those who have had the best opportunities of observing.

"I cannot help smiling," says Molina, "when I read in certain modern authors, and those, too, accounted diligent observers, that all the Americans have one cast of countenance, and that when you have seen one, you know the whole."—"The difference between an inhabitant of Chili and a Peruvian is not less than between an Italian and a German. I have found the Indians of Paraguay, of the Straits of Magellan, and of other parts, most obviously and strikingly distinguished from each other by peculiar lineaments." In South America, according to Mr. Lawrence, we have the Caaiguas, with flat noses, observed by Del Techo; the Abipones, of whom many individuals have aquiline noses, by Dobrizhoffer; the Peruvians, with narrow and aquiline noses, by Ulloa; the Chilese, with rather a broad nose, by Molina, and the Islanders of Tierra del Fuego, with a very depressed one, by G. Forster. "The same style of feature," says Baron Humboldt, "exists, no doubt, in both Americas; but those Europeans who have sailed on the great rivers Orinoco and Amazon, and have had occasion to see a great number of tribes assembled under the monastical hierarchy in the missions, must have observed that the American race contains nations whose features differ as essentially from one another as the numerous varieties of the race of Caucasus, the Circassians, Moors, and Persians, differ from one another. The tall form

of the Patagonians is again found by us, as it were, among the Caribs, who dwell in the plains from the delta of the Orinoco to the sources of the Rio Bravo. What a difference between the figure, physiognomy, and physical constitution of these Caribs, (who ought to be accounted one of the most robust nations on the face of the earth, and are not to be confounded with the degenerate Zambos, formerly called Caribs, of the island St. Vincent,) and the squat bodies of the Chayma Indians of the province of Cumaná! What a difference of form between the Indians of Tlascala, and the Lipans and Chichimecs of the northern part of Mexico?"

According to writers, the native Indians of Brazil are generally of a much more intense black than many of the other races; and, if we may give trust to the splendid plates of Spix and Martius, their physiognomy differs widely from most of those prevalent among the aborigines of the United States. It is a general remark with those who have spent a length of time among the latter, that the different tribes are easily known from each other by their varieties of physiognomy. Examples of this, both as to feature and complexion, are not difficult to multiply; but one recently communicated to me by Mr. Nuttall is the more interesting as bearing upon another point in the inquiry, the supposed resemblance to the Mongolians. According to this traveller, the Indians beyond the Rocky Mountains are generally characterized by a flat nose, and gradually approximate to the Esquimaux, while the Sioux and others in the plains of the Missouri, are distinguished by a strongly marked Roman nose, so distinct as to serve the men of the two races to distinguish each other in time of war.

If we refer to etymologies, we shall find a still greater defect in the evidence of the identity of the American race. Several large masses, including various tribes, are pointed out as exhibiting traces of so many general connexions; to

which others may be added, as in our country, the Delaware, the Iroquois, and the southern or Floridian. With the exception of these resemblances, the labours of Vater have been quite as unsuccessful in discovering marks of etymological similarity among the American languages themselves, as between these and the dialects of the older world. These families of nations, though sometimes extensive, differ quite as widely from one another as any of the other groups within the limits of human knowledge. At the same time, it must be confessed that they all possess the singular resemblance of what is called by our distinguished countryman, P. S. Duponceau, Esq., a highly *polygenetic* character; a quality apparently derivable from a peculiar and characteristic turn of mind.

Such and so various are the arguments which have been used, as we have collected them, in discussing the celebrated theory of the Mongolian or so called Tartar origin of the American Indians. The inference must be drawn by my hearers. As far as it feels practicable to the humble compiler of these sheets to form an opinion on a subject which has exhausted so much learning, it appears to him to stand reduced to all reasonable probability, that a portion of Mongolian blood has contributed, in very ancient times, to swell the population of the two Americas; that this is most predominant in the north, the Esquimaux exhibiting strong traces of it in their physical conformation, and that a certain degree of likelihood accompanies the ascription of a share of it to some of the other tribes, particularly in those met with by Mr. Nuttall west of the Rocky Mountains, which seem to melt gradually into the Esquimaux family.

To extend it to the whole population of this immense continent, from Greenland to Tierra del Fuego, seems, on the other hand, to be a strained and forced conclusion, improbable in itself, indeed appearing almost impossible, if we refer

to the considerations which we have recently expressed, and incapable of being reconciled with the immense variety of languages, and other marks of numerous independent races. The inference which most commands our confidence, is, that America, like other sections of the world, was peopled from several sources; and that this was effected by numerous colonies, and in an antiquity so remote as to precede the records of history, the invention of most domestic mechanic arts, and the formation of widely diffused languages.

That this might easily have taken place may be obviously inferred from a fact familiar by its frequency, and at the non-application of which we must be allowed to express our surprise. We allude to the peopling of islands; the majority of which, throughout the globe, including nearly all those within climates favourable to human life, present precisely the same problem in this respect, with the continent of America. They have been found inhabited, and this from a period of antiquity more remote than any authentic history, by diverse and barbarous people; and to the islands must be added the continent of New Holland. To the author of these sheets it has often appeared singular that the identity of the problem of their colonization with that in the case of America had not been developed by the writers he had perused. The difficulty in the case of the islands is even greater than in the other instance. We have here no approximation to any older territory. Unless we suppose many violent convulsions of nature, the colonists must have been conveyed by long navigation, and this with additional difficulties to which we shall shortly allude. The existence of barbarous colonies on such a multitude of detached islands, always excepting the forced and improbable hypothesis of so many separations by earthquakes or violent irruptions of the sea, sufficiently demonstrates the existence, at a very early period of the human race, of some means of navigation.

All the arguments respecting the domestic arts and the training of animals which we recited with regard to America, are more or less applicable to the islands, and some of them with additional force, proving the remote date and the barbarous condition of the primal colonies. This being established, it would indeed appear to the writer, that the practicability of the settlement of America hardly remains a problem. If we can suppose savages wandering over the bosom of the ocean for thousands of miles, on rafts or in canoes, and enabled to find islands of a few miles in width, with such imperfect means as we can imagine these to have possessed, how can the question be asked in what manner similar adventurers could attain the proximate coast of a mighty continent, extending throughout a third part of the circumference of the globe? Indeed the real difficulty must have been less. Where one canoe, with its load of starving human beings, destitute of all knowledge of astronomy or geography, could discover and reach the shore of a small island in the midst of the pathless expanse, many others must have missed the narrow boundaries, and gone on wandering over the ocean, till want, sickness or tempests put a period to their wretchedness. The prolonged coast of a continent, on the other hand, could not be missed by any one who persevered for a sufficient length of time in the same general direction. No compass, map, or scientific knowledge is necessary to reach with certainty that which forms an impassible barrier between one ocean and another. Colonization might easily be effected at various times, and at a great number of independent points. Persons from Africa, from the Canary isles, or from the territory supposed by Bory de St. Vincent to form the ancient *Atalantis*, from the Azores, and even from Spain, might easily make the short run to America, by the aid of the trade winds. This facility is peculiarly great where the Atlantic is narrowed by the projection

of the two coasts of Africa and Brazil. On the west, similar occurrences are rendered more probable by the proximity and number of the islands, and by the proverbial calmness of the Pacific Ocean. Nor is it at all impossible that similar colonies may have reached our shores from China and Japan, or from the north of Europe; the only objection to these celebrated hypotheses arising from the absence of imported arts, and the total want of probable evidence towards identifying the descendants of the colonists. These sources may have contributed to the peopling of America; but the considerations which we have heretofore adduced sufficiently demonstrate, that, if they ever really did so, it must have occurred at a period of remote antiquity and extreme barbarism.

In proceeding to comment upon the individual races which may have thus combined to form the population of our continent, we shall adhere to the plan, pointed out in an early part of this discourse, of citing or mentioning but in a cursory manner, the various theories and the statements collected from alleged history, of colonization by masses of civilized men. It is not that we wish to treat them with disrespect; but that the limits of this essay will not allow us to detail the very copious discussions to which they have given rise. This appears to us the less necessary from the arguments which we have already used to demonstrate that the early colonists of America could not have possessed the arts of civilization. These considerations must excuse us for what would otherwise be a blameworthy and disrespectful omission.

The race of which we would first speak is, one to which we have often been surprised that so little attention has hitherto been paid; we mean the Malay. Scattered throughout a space of about one hundred and forty degrees of longitude, or about two-fifths of the circumference of the globe, from Madagascar to Easter Island, in the vicinity of Ame-

rica, characterized by the most striking peculiarities as a race, yet exhibiting a variety of modifications, this singular people have justly received the epithet Oceanic. Their colonies have been the most widely disseminated upon the face of the whole earth. Each little island, formed by the deposits of the sea upon some coral reef, through all the vast extent of the Pacific Ocean, may almost be said, if it contain the necessary materials for the support of human life, to be inhabited by men of this ancestry.

While they fill the whole of the smaller islands, they occupy the coasts of the larger; the negro race retreating to the mountains, before the superior knowledge, activity and warlike spirit of the Malays. Thus they possess the entire coast of Celebes and of Borneo, that territory so large that authors have doubted whether it ought not to be denominated a continent. In the great and fertile island of Java, they constitute partially civilized nations, possessed of a literature, a religion, and a splendid style of architecture; while in Madagascar they seem to approximate more to the adjacent Africans; and in the peninsula of Malacca, they appear to exist in such a fierce and untamed condition, that, aided by the difficulties of the country, they have hitherto bid defiance to the prowess and ambition of the adjacent European conquerors. With the few agricultural exceptions enumerated, the Malays are distinguished by a restless fondness for navigation and piracy, and as far as they understand them, for all the employments and amusements of the ocean. In the South sea islands, they furnish the greatest swimmers in the world; and they display in every instance where they addict themselves to the maritime life, a considerable degree of skill in the construction and management of their vessels. In every residence, they are a fierce and warlike people, terrible to their neighbours, and living in a state of constant and habitual preparation for battle.

Among them are found, collected in particular localities, numerous individuals whose resemblance to the African negro is so great that most writers have referred them to the same variety of mankind. The differences, if any exist, are slight, and not sufficient to do away the idea of a common descent. They are men of a black complexion, with short woolly hair and a flattened nose; and form a striking contrast with the fiery and cunning Malays. These black people are found in the Andaman islands in the bay of Bengal, in the continent of New Holland, the vast island of Van Diemen's Land, and the mountainous and woody interior of the torrid regions of Borneo and Celebes. Some of them much resemble the African blacks; others, as the New Hollanders, though evidently connected in race, possess less of the flattened nose, projecting jaws and woolly hair. Some of these, as the Andaman islanders, are considered by many travellers as the most imbruted of the human race, violent, sullen, stupid, and apparently devoid of humane feelings; while others, as the New Hollanders, are described as gentle and inoffensive, though very difficult to bring to a state of civilization.

Several of the islands of the South Sea appear not to have been sufficiently examined. The inhabitants, though bearing much resemblance to their neighbours of the Malay race, have not as yet been adequately compared, through the medium of their languages, with tribes of the acknowledged stock. It is sufficiently obvious that both these and the island and New Holland blacks could only have reached their present seats by navigation, at least unless we resort to the hypothesis of irruptions of the sea. Such then are the races from which we have next to inquire the probability of American colonization.

The first remark which we shall add to the above is that the races of the Malays and the Americans are in physical appearance extremely similar. In following up the extension

of the former, we find it subjected to many varieties, though still referred to a common stock. If we decide it to terminate at a given point, one would naturally expect to find, in that situation, a well marked and visible change in form and physiognomy. Now we think, if the characters of the two races, the American and the Malay, as given by physiologists and travellers, be compared with each other, and the great variations of both be farther taken into account, it would be difficult to point out any material, we would almost say any difference between them as characterizing their respective totalities. The distinctions between the European and the African are continually before us; they are striking, and no one could possibly avoid observing many of them. Those between the former and the Mongolian, although less distinctly marked, are yet sufficiently visible; the small, narrow and oblique eye, the broad and flattened countenance and the depressed nose, will attract every one's attention. The Malay is distinguished from the European by his dark colour; to which is added an accumulation of smaller and less essential characters, the enumeration of which may embarrass the attention. Let us inquire whether the alleged fifth variety, the Americans, possess distinctive characters of equal value, or sufficient to distinguish it from one of its nearest neighbours.

The characters of the Malay variety of the human species, according to Blumenbach and his copyists, are, a brown colour, hair more or less black, and abundant, head rather narrow, bones of the face large and prominent, nose full and broad towards the apex, with a large mouth. The colour, according to Lawrence, varies from a light tawny tint, not deeper than that of the Spaniards and Portuguese, to a deep brown approaching to black. It is well known that some are nearly white. We shall follow Lawrence in copying the characters of the American variety, as he gives them more

fully than Blumenbach. They are stated to be a dark skin of a more or less red tint, black, straight and long hair, small beard, which is generally eradicated, and a countenance and skull very similar to those of the Mongolian tribes—a statement the correctness of which we have just been discussing. The forehead, it is farther said, is low, the eyes deep, the face broad, particularly across the cheeks, which are prominent and rounded. Yet the face is not so flattened as in the Mongols; the nose and other features being more distinct and projecting. The mouth is large and the lips rather thick. The forehead and vertex are in some cases deformed by art.

The hearer will recollect the observations already made upon this alleged resemblance to the Mongolian variety. It should farther be added that according to Cuvier, the Malays themselves are a branch of the Mongolian race. Having premised thus much, we ask the question, where are the distinctive marks? Different language is used to express the characters of the two nations; but where are the real means of discrimination which should be supposed adequate to distinguish two of the four or five great families of the human race? What is there in these definitions indicating a difference greater than that which subsists between different branches of a great race; between the French, Germans and Italians, or indeed between many of the modifications of the Malay or of the American race among themselves? The imbruted, lower caste savage of Owhyhee, the handsome Marquesan, the animated, half civilized and fiery Javanese, or to come to our own continent, the fair Cherokee, the black Brazilian, the gigantic Charib, and the stunted Chayma, mentioned by Humboldt, and to proceed farther, the Esquimaux, certainly present differences far greater than any which may be deduced from the characters here presented. None certainly can be inferred from these at all comparable

to those which subsist between the Caucasian, and the Mongol, the African, or the Malay. We may be allowed, too, to note that the alleged red of the Indians is frequently artificial; and that the appellation "red men," is generally claimed by these people from an idea of the superior beauty of the colour. Our ordinary habits of observation have not led us to identify red as a tinge of striking prevalence, sufficient to distinguish the dark tinge of the Indian from the brown of other races. We may add, that the Malay features, which we have frequently inspected, never appeared to us to have a well characterized distinction from the Indians sufficient to constitute a section of mankind; and that the craniums of the two races in our collections are nearly identical, and could not be preserved from confusion without artificial marks.

We see nothing, therefore, in the features of the Indians which forbids their descent from Malay colonists. The difficulty in regard to language appears at first view far more imposing. Of this we may judge in part from the compilations of Vater, of which we have already given an account. Yet it ought to be added that, in this point, the examination which that distinguished man was enabled to make, was necessarily defective. The languages of the eastern and south-eastern islands in the South Sea, more immediately adjacent to our continent, according to Balbi, have been but very imperfectly examined; and whether resemblances shall or shall not in future be found between them and the dialects of America, it is not admissible, at the present time, to cite them as affording a difficulty the existence of which has not yet been attested. It cannot be assumed that they differ from the languages of America, while we know not what they are. It appears from the tables of the writer last named, that among tribes which resemble the other inhabitants of the South Sea, (and may therefore be reasonably supposed of the same Malay race,) languages have notwithstanding been

discovered which do not appear to exhibit a Malay origin. If this be confirmed by future investigations, the process of forming new and diversified tongues, among the rovers of that nautical race, may be regarded as having commenced in the islands; and it is, therefore, in no respect difficult to suppose its extension to the mainland of America.

This subject will, perhaps, receive additional illustration from a reference to the mode in which such a colonization as that of which we have been treating might reasonably be supposed to have taken place. The most plausible explanation which we can imagine of the manner in which remote islands become occupied by men in a barbarous state, is by small parties, wandering in canoes or boats of some description, and either driven by storms or led by errors in their estimation of the distances they traverse, until they have lost the power of returning to their native coasts. In such a situation, it must undoubtedly be supposed that a very large portion would be destroyed; but individuals might survive till they reached the shore of some unknown land. It is capable of being imagined that similar voyages might have been attempted with design; but we must still suppose this to have taken place in small parties. Any other supposition than this, any one which presumes a deliberate intention to discover new countries by larger masses of men, would imply the possession of something like civilization, and of more of the domestic arts than are found among the American Indians. Indeed, the small islands from which the departure would, in the present state of our earth, be obliged to take place, could hardly be supposed capable of furnishing larger bodies of navigators. We have, therefore, before us the spectacle of a numerous series of islands, which must, beyond all reasonable doubt, have been colonized by small numbers of barbarians, wandering in boats or on rafts, from one resting place to another, suffering every disaster that could be in-

flicted on them by the ocean, the weather, and deficiency of food; but surviving to furnish inhabitants to nearly all of them. In what manner can these be supposed to have reached the main land, if not in detached families of two, three, four, or more, in a starving condition, and after a separation of many generations from any parent stock? We will not say that the multiplicity of American languages is capable of explanation; but it does appear to us that such a colonization as this goes nearer to furnishing an adequate one than any thing that can possibly be deduced from the Mongolian hypothesis. The one requires the supposition of an immense succession of colonies, succeeding one another throughout the world-girding length of two continents, and by some means hitherto unexplained, becoming isolated in their acquisitions, sufficiently to permit them to develop the enormous variety of languages which has been alleged to be found among their successors. The other draws a great number of detached families, from different islands, and perhaps from the continent of Africa, at different and distant periods, in a state of ignorance and misery, and lands them at as many points as may be supposed accessible to such, along the immense western and eastern coasts of the two Americas. If we suppose these the offspring of the adjacent islanders, they are such as have been for an indefinite time secluded from the rest of the world; and have, therefore, enjoyed the best opportunity of forming distinct languages. Arriving in the vast forests of the new continent, they must have found themselves for hundreds, perhaps, in some instances, thousands of years, as completely insulated as when they inhabited their remote islands; their progeny not encountering those of others, till, after a long lapse of time and a great increase of numbers, they were induced to spread themselves or to migrate in search of food. Can any combination of circum-

stances, short of miraculous intervention, be imagined more capable of the formation of a great number of languages?

The condition in which we have endeavoured to show that colonists from the remote Malay islands must be supposed to have arrived, will perhaps correspond better than most others with the ignorance of arts and of domestic quadrupeds which we have described as having existed among the American Indians. To this we may add some similarity of character, particularly in their proneness to war on the small scale, and their peculiar acuteness in conducting it; unlike the barbarians of the Mongolian race, who generally spend their time in the care of cattle, and have seldom been represented in the warlike character unless in large masses, and urged by powerful chiefs. There are perhaps few races in the world so much addicted to petty warfare as the Malay and the American Indians.

We apprehend that we can find within the bounds of America herself farther arguments, not without their weight, tending to point out the South Sea Islanders as the principal source of American population. In contemplating the masses of human beings which inhabited the surface of this vast continent, if we look for the points of greatest population, we shall find them in the west. If we look for the traces of ancient civilization, they are rarely to be met with, and incomparably inferior in number and magnificence in any regions which are not easily accessible from the western coast. If we inquire for the traditions of the natives, at least in northern America, amid the confusion and inconsistency with which they are justly reproached, we may still discover a predominant opinion directing us to the same quarter; a circumstance which has already been used to support the Mongolian hypothesis. One of the largest masses of Indian population, as far as is gathered from early writers, seems to

have been in the empire of Peru. In this, the arts were carried to a height that astonished the conquerors. A large population, governed by laws, and by a hereditary race of kings and priests, was for the most part peaceably engaged in the labours of an extended and complicated agriculture, in the mechanic arts, and in the improvement of the country by the construction of roads, temples, and monuments. South of these, we find Chili, a highly populous country, and among its inhabitants, the warlike Araucanians, whose numbers and prowess for centuries resisted the Spanish arms, and who do not appear to have ever been entirely subdued. Farther north, the ancient Muyscas are situated with a similar relation to the Pacific Ocean. The continuation of this line of populous empires and republics embraces next the thronging tribes of Guatemala and the celebrated monarchy of Mexico. These regions, it is true, extend to the borders of a sea communicating with the Atlantic; but it should be considered that this arises from the deep indentation of the continent produced by the gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, and that the two populous countries we have named, although accessible from the Atlantic, are more immediately so from the Pacific Ocean. The dense population described by the Spanish writers as having been encountered by their countrymen in Florida, the West India islands, and the Spanish Main, countries lying exposed to the Atlantic, possessed the advantages, in colonization, of great facility for canoe navigation. They do not, moreover, appear to have existed in such large masses, or in such a high state of civilization, as their neighbours of Mexico. Farther north than this, we do not hear of a dense population; but in the place of it, along the western coast, we have the original country, the *officina gentium*, to which numerous tribes allege that they can trace their origin. As we have already had occasion to state, the various nations of Toltec or Aztec race, that have inhabited

the fertile mountain plains of Mexico, are alleged to have proceeded from the vicinity of California; and the traditions of a western origin which have been gathered from our own tribes, point towards a region still farther north.

We have thus endeavoured to exhibit the arguments which appear to us to indicate the Malay or Oceanic race of the South Seas, as having probably furnished the largest share to the population of the two Americas. We have aimed to support this by adducing the fitness of these people to furnish detached and isolated colonies, of a single family at a time, to various and remote parts of the coast, and in a state of barbarism and ignorance sufficient to account for the production of numerous and unconnected languages; by urging their ignorance of history, arts and domestic animals, the adequate resemblance of their present descendants in the islands of the South Sea to the American Indians, their vicinity, their habits of navigation, and the fact of their having colonized the most widely spread portion of the globe of all the known varieties of mankind; and finally, by remarking the existence of the largest masses of people, in the most advanced stage of civilization, and apparently during the greatest space of time, along the whole western coast of these continents, as far as these traverse the more habitable zones of the earth.

In thus endeavouring to disprove, in favour of the Malays, the commonly established supposition of the origin of the American Indians from a single locality, it has not been our design to exclude those other sources from which, with more or less probability, it can be urged that a portion of their progenitors were derived. We have already mentioned the resemblances of the Mayo language of Honduras to some of the dialects of Africa. We may quote from Pauw's researches, to which however we are far from giving implicit credit, the statement that Raleigh met with negroes in Guiana, Vasco Nunez, in Quarequa, and Rogers, in California.

In addition to this, we have already cited several other considerations, among which are the trade winds and the great contraction of the Atlantic Ocean from the simultaneous projection of the two continents. An oblique line from Sierra Leone, in Africa, to Paraiba, in Brazil, measures, upon the maps, about 1890 English miles. These circumstances would certainly tend to facilitate migration from Africa to South America.

Of the other sources from which it has been suggested that this continent may have received a portion of its population, few remain but such as imply some degree of civilization on the part of the colonists. To all these we have made a partial reply in that part of our observations intended to prove that America was colonized by a barbarous people. Neither the Scandinavians, as we find them in history, the Welsh of Prince Madoc, the Egyptians, the Mongolian conquerors, nor the Chinese, could possibly have been the settlers of a new continent without leaving behind them, universally dispersed, the knowledge of many instruments, weapons, metals and domestic animals, and we may add, organized languages, the traces of which, from their intrinsic usefulness, would not have entirely disappeared. A tribe originally numerous and possessed of iron and the sword, could never have sunk in extermination beneath the stone hatchets and arrows of our Indians; not if they had, would their instruments have been lost by their successors, or escape our search in examining their tombs. We have, for these reasons, laid out but little space for the inquiry into the merits of various theories of American colonization from such sources. It would, however, be an injustice to our subject to pass them over without notice, or to omit to remark the vast extent of curious and learned inquiry into which they are calculated to lead us. They have occupied much space, in many volumes. We

shall give a hasty indication of some of them; abridging nearly the whole from the ample list of Professor Vater.

It is scarcely necessary to mention the mere supposition of some biblical commentators, that the Naphtuhim, a tribe of the descendants of Misraim, enumerated in the Scriptures, were the Americans; or that of Arias Montanus, that America was the Ophir of Solomon's commercial navigation. Later critics have, we believe, referred Ophir to Ceylon or Malacca. The similarity between the Mexicans and the ancient Egyptians, to which we have already alluded, is such as at first view to assume quite a different aspect. The origin of the former from the latter has been maintained by Huetius, Athanasius Kircher, Siguenza and Clavigero. The resemblance between the two nations must be confessed to be striking and astonishing. It extends to their pyramids, to the ideographic portion of their hieroglyphics, to a part of their mythology, to their manner of computing time, to their clothing, to some of their customs, and even, if we trust the pottery and sculpture of the Mexicans which have been exhibited in this country, and the plates in the works of Humboldt, to their physiognomy. In the *Vues des Cordillères* of Baron Humboldt, are inserted several ancient Mexican paintings, bearing a truly startling analogy to the Scripture narratives of Noah and the deluge, of Eve and the serpent, and of Cain and Abel. On this discussion we have neither space nor time to enlarge; but we will state in brief the arguments with which we would rebut this hypothesis. They are—1. That Mexico and Egypt alike lie very remote from the point of approximation between the two continents. 2. That the remote navigation of the Egyptians is of very doubtful authenticity. 3. That, the traditions of the Mexicans referring their origin to the north-west, this consideration militates against the possibility of that country having been reached by the

Egyptians over the sea, and compels us to the supposition of a long migration through the countless tribes of the land passage, round more than half the world. 4. That Mexican civilization appears obviously a growth and refinement of the ideas and habits still found among the barbarous tribes farther north. 5. The whole remaining reasoning which we have already adduced to show that the origin of the Americans must have been from a barbarous people; the Egyptians, like other civilized nations, having been acquainted with the use of various metals, domestic arts, and subjugated animals, and with an organized language and a history. From these considerations we conclude that the resemblance of the Mexicans to the Egyptians is the simple effect of that similarity which exists between the minds, bodies and necessities of men in the same stage of civilization in whatever part of the world.

The hypothesis of the origin of the Indians from the Jews, and in particular, from the ten lost tribes, is supported by a number of writers, some of whom we have already cited. Gomara upholds their descent from the Canaanites, expelled by Joshua from the promised land. Le Compte and Horna name the Phœnicians, in consequence of their extensive navigation. Acosta and Moraez suggest the facility with which Carthaginian ships could run down the trade winds, and in a short time arrive in America; where their posterity, isolated from the rest of mankind, might relapse into barbarism; and Garcia quotes ancient authorities which describe the erection of great buildings by the Carthaginians, and compares these with remains found on this side of the Atlantic. A certain degree of importance is ascribed to these considerations by Vater; as well as to the sacrifices of children by the Carthaginians, and by the inhabitants of New Grenada. De Laet defends the claims of the ancient inhabitants of Spain to the reputation of having furnished a portion of the population of America. These, when expelled from their

own country, by the cruelties of the Carthaginian and Roman conquerors, he supposes to have migrated to the islands on the western coast of Africa, and from these beyond the ocean. In confirmation of this, he quotes a passage in Pliny, describing large buildings found in uninhabited islands on the coast of Africa. Charron and Postel maintain the hypothesis that the Gauls colonized our continent, and defend it by referring to the custom of human sacrifices. Milius ascribes the colonization to the Celtic race; and De Laet and Valancey endeavour to confirm it by a comparison of languages and by other evidence. Several of the coincidences in language which are founded on words selected from La Hontan, are shown by Vater to be erroneous or exaggerated; the remainder are few and might easily be accidental. In the work of De Laet is contained, in an extract from David Powel's *Historia Cambriae*, the celebrated and romantic story of the expedition of Madoc, son of Owen Gwyneth, and the origin of the supposed Welsh Indians; and the glory of the exploit is proclaimed in the poems of Meredith, published in 1477. Prince Madoc, disgusted with the quarrels which took place among his brothers after the death of their father, collected a large number of followers, together with several vessels, which he provisioned for a long voyage, and set out in search of unknown countries. In the distant west, he discovered a fertile and uninhabited region; which he left in possession of a part of his followers, while he repaired to Wales, and led a new colony to his settlements, from which he never again returned. The searches made within this continent, together with the various reports of Welsh Indians, to which this narrative has given rise, are well known to antiquaries. We observe, by a note of Mr. Duponceau, in the recently published volume of the *Transactions* of this Society, that a native of Wales is now in the United States, engaged in this hitherto fruitless research; exhibiting another example of that

generous devotion to the claims of consanguinity and the glory of their ancestors, for which that high-minded people have so often been renowned.

The origin of the Americans has been also ascribed to another great maritime nation, the Norwegians or Normans; and this hypothesis is in part maintained with all the authority of the celebrated Grotius. Ancient Icelandic and Norwegian narratives relate the progress of their ancestors from Iceland to Greenland, and from thence to Estotiland and Skralingaland or Wineland the Good; which are taken to be parts of the continent of America. Our readers will find a number of curious details on this subject in the recently published volume of the Transactions to which we have already alluded. We may surely be allowed to refer to the suggestion that the name of Greenland, so incomprehensible when applied to a region of eternal snow and ice, may be explained, if we suppose a confusion in the minds of these unscientific voyagers, between that steril country, and parts of the coasts of Labrador and New England, which may have been visited in different expeditions. Grotius has also remarked the resemblance between some religious customs of Yucatan and those of the Ethiopians; from which he anticipates the inference, to which we have already alluded, on other grounds, with regard to the adjacent territory of Honduras, that colonists may have reached that vicinity from Africa. The same illustrious writer points out similarities between the customs of Peru and those of China, and attributes the colonization of the remaining portion of South America to the Javanese. As remarked by the judicious Vater, the resemblances with China are only such as may be attributed to a similarity of character and an equal degree of civilization. It is proper to add that Fischer unites with Grotius in the Chinese hypothesis; and that De Guignes endeavours to prove, by historical researches, that the worship

of the Grand Lama was transplanted to America in the year 456, and that a Chinese ship formerly sailed annually, by the way of Kamtschatka, to the north-west of California, carrying on an extensive commerce. Sir William Jones endeavours to draw a parallel between the Hindu mythology and customs, and those of the Peruvians, sufficient to establish a connexion in the same manner as attempted by Grotius in regard to the Chinese. Of the theory of Forniel, which refers the origin of the Americans to Japan, and to the coasts of Asia lying northwards of that Archipelago, it is hardly necessary to speak; as according to the just remark of Vater, this is the vicinity by which the Mongolian immigration must be supposed to have arrived, and the former supposition is therefore involved in the one already so fully discussed.

According to J. R. Forster, the population of America may be supposed to have been influenced by the shipwreck and destruction of the great fleet of Koblai Khan, with which, in the year 1281, after the conquest of China, he attempted that of Japan. The fleet was lost in a storm, and it is not too much, in the opinion of Mr. Forster, to suppose that some of his vessels reached America. Humboldt quotes, from the annals of China, a statement that a tribe of the Ki-ong-nu, with its leader, was completely lost sight of in Northern Siberia; and then inquires whether these were the Aztecs of the Mexican territory. Acosta gives it as his opinion, that men and animals reached America by the northern extremity from both Europe and Asia; and adds, in order to confirm the idea that the population of America reached that country by an over-land route, that the islands which were difficult of access from the continent, were found uninhabited. With regard to some of them, as Juan Fernandez, this is known to be correct. The Gallipagos were scarcely capable of supporting human life. Garcia, in commenting upon

Acosta, remarks that America was peopled from various sources, and by various means, both accidental and intentional; and he enumerates among the parent nations, Greeks, Phenicians, Tartars, Chinese, Carthaginians, Jews, Romans, and ancient Spaniards. De Laet apprehends that Spaniards probably reached America by the way of the Canary Islands and the Azores; and that Irish colonists probably also arrived there. Besides these, he imagines Scythians to have also contributed to swell the mass, and to have introduced, in South America, the barbarous practice of cannibalism. As is well observed by Vater, the existence of cannibalism proves nothing; as many uncultivated nations were alike guilty of this enormity. This horrible custom is, we think, best explained by Humboldt, in a manner to which we have already alluded. De Laet adds, that South America was probably colonized from the Islands of the South Sea; though this idea, maintained by Dr. S. L. Mitchill, is rejected by Charlevoix and Vater, as more improbable than the route by North America and Tartary. The theory of George de Hornn, although certainly of less authority than those of Grotius and Garcia, is at least equally elaborate and complicated. We sketch it from the same source from which we have borrowed most of the above. He rejects Negroes, the inhabitants of the north of Europe, Greeks, Romans, Hindoos, Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans. America, according to him, was first settled from the north, by Scythians, who were followed successively by Phenicians, Carthaginians, Canaanites, and Chinese; and many detached colonists of different nations, including probably some Jews and Christians, were added to the list after this continent had been fully peopled. The first arrival of the Phenician race must have been in very remote antiquity. The second was that mentioned by Diodorus Siculus; where he states that the Carthaginians sent colonies to an island in Western Libya. It is highly proba-

ble, continues De Hornn, that among the fleets of Ophir, some of the crews may have been driven to America. Peru and Mexico were colonized by people of Cathay, of China, and Japan, with the addition of some Phenician and Egyptian adventurers; which mixture is designed to account for the similarities to the older world noticed among this interesting people. Manco Capac was a Chinese prince; and two hundred years afterwards, Facfur, king of China, after being dethroned by Koblai Khan, left China with a thousand ships and a hundred thousand of his subjects, and arrived in America. De Hornn notices the absence of horses at that epocha in China; an observation which had been made of a part of the Scythians by the advocates of a former theory. On this complicated and detailed hypothesis we shall make no comment; but will content ourselves with extracting the opinion of the great German writer whom we have so often quoted. "Such is the entirely uncertain and tottering structure of possibilities erected by this ingenious ethnographer." — "The utmost which can be attained by conjectures linked together in this manner, and which is not overthrown by contradictory facts, is bare possibility."

The scientific world long waited with impatience for the results which should be attained by the prolonged and multitudinous researches of Baron Humboldt. This learned and indefatigable investigator, knowing better than any other the obscurity of the subject and the want of any certain conclusion, has in a great measure confined himself to the collection of materials with the addition of occasional comments; and has not, in any of his works which have reached our hands, combined his ideas on this interesting inquiry into an extended and systematic view. They are to be found scattered through various parts of his voluminous writings; but particularly in the *Vues des Cordillères*. M. de Humboldt cites a great number of instances of remarkable resemblance between

the Mexicans and the ancient Egyptians; which are principally included under the heads already enumerated. He also mentions a variety of analogies, of a less striking character, between other nations of the American continent and various portions of the population of an older world. The learned author expresses the belief that these arise from a connexion between the two continents in very remote times, and that probabilities are in favour of the passage by Behring's Straits and the Aleütian or Fox Islands; but he confesses freely that all efforts at exhibiting the precise course, the epocha of migration, the chain of affiliated nations, or in fact any of the circumstances of the transaction, have hitherto resulted in entire disappointment.

From "The Book of the Indians" of Mr. S. G. Drake, (an interesting volume recently put into our hands by the politeness of the author,) we compile an additional reference which we do not recollect to have seen elsewhere. Noticing the alleged mention of a western continent by Plato and Seneca, the tragedian, Mr. Drake cites a passage from Ælian, in which again occurs a citation from a writer of the age of Alexander the Great. In this quotation we are told of a great and boundless continent, producing animals and men of extraordinary stature and longevity, inhabiting many great cities, and possessed of vast quantities of gold and silver. This would seem to point out reality in the idea of voyages having been made to this continent at that early day, by the maritime nations of the Levant.

Such is the list of hypotheses of the primeval colonization of America which we have been able to abstract from the best accessible authorities. It may have been fatiguing in the recital; but some reflections will naturally present themselves which may perhaps be indulged. It is at once apparent what a vast field for laborious inquiry would be opened by attempting to discuss all these various theories.

Their very number is itself an argument against them. It is impossible, of course, to do any justice to them within the bounds of the present essay; and to select a single one or any small number, on which to dilate and fill up a large portion of our time, would be an undue preference. We have therefore passed over slightly many curious statements of a wild and adventurous character, which otherwise might have attracted your attention, and perhaps excited a deeper interest. It is time to approximate a close to these observations, extended perhaps already beyond a reasonable length; and we shall therefore proceed to sum up our conclusions. From a review of all that we have compiled, the mass of evidence appears to us to indicate the inferences which we are now proceeding to append.

We infer that the main bulk of the American population is probably derived from colonies of barbarous people, in the rudest state of life which can be imagined compatible with the preservation of their lives and the increase of their numbers. That the various colonies of civilized men which would appear from historical documents to have, at different periods, reached this country, were probably in many instances massacred, or in other ways destroyed by the unfavourable circumstances of their situation, as has been the case with so many colonies of the fate of which we are furnished with authentic accounts. That the survival of any of them, from the total absence of the domestic arts and knowledge of domestic animals which they must have introduced, is at best extremely problematical; and that they cannot have given rise to any considerable proportion of the population of America. That the Esquimaux races are apparently of Mongolian or Tartar descent, their predecessors having arrived by Behring's Straits or by Alasca and the Aleütian Isles; and that after their formation into tribes and the production of a language, they appear to have transmitted back to

Asia the colony of the Tschuktschi. That it is very probable that much of the blood of the adjacent Indian tribes is derived from the same source, particularly of those of the north-west. That the origin of the great bulk of the Indians remains without any explanation accompanied by a satisfactory degree of probability. That the derivation of these, particularly in South America, from the Mongolian source, is hard to be conceived when we take into view the difficulties of the case; and that the presumption has considerable force that they are principally the descendants of colonists from the islands of the South Sea. And finally that a certain degree of probability attaches to the hypothesis of African emigration; a question to be elucidated by farther inquiries.

It must certainly be admitted that these conclusions form another and a striking example of the obscurity and imperfection which so much abound in the results of a very large portion of human science. They strongly bring to the mind a criticism of our learned and venerable member, P. S. Du-ponceau, Esq. While the philosophers of Europe have been employed in speculations and inquiries, directed, beyond a vast ocean, to the origin of the natives of America, some of them have overlooked a problem, yet unexplained, which lies at their own door; the genealogy and cause of the organic peculiarities of the natives of Africa. A section of the globe, within a day's sail of ancient Greece and Rome, nay, which contained ancient Egypt within its boundaries, has had no explanation given of the very remarkable peculiarities which characterize nearly its whole population. We may add, that until the last few years its great rivers were never explored by navigation, its deserts never traversed by civilized men, the conquests and glory of ancient empires were confined to its northern border, and, while the illimitable regions of North and South America have been explored, subdued, delineated in all directions, that continent which

was the cradle of all our civilization, remains throughout nearly its whole extent, a blank upon the map of the globe. Contemplations such as these are calculated to impress us with a distrust of the boasted prowess of our own race; and while we are toiling with self-gratulation in the fields of science, inevitably and perpetually remind us of the littleness of man, and the small space he occupies when taken into comparison with the agencies of nature and the destinies of worlds.

And here, gentlemen of the Historical Society, might properly terminate our dry inquiry into the origin of the American Indians. But I see before me those whom a benign providence has sent into existence for the purpose of softening and ameliorating a world which, if abandoned alone to the passions of men, would be too sanguinary and ferocious; those whose society is at once the source and the reward of civilization and morality. The occasion is tempting to urge the cause of the unhappy aboriginals, and must not be neglected. What are the inquiries of abstract research to the claims of living and suffering humanity? It is to woman that we can ever appeal for all that is generous in self devotion and gentle and lovely in performance. You possess the power to guide and control public opinion. You mould the statesman and the warrior, and convert their cold and cruel calculations into plans of benevolence and humanity. Nothing but woman can bid the demon of avarice to pause in his career. It is to woman, therefore, that I address the cause of the unfortunate beings who have been the subject of this discourse; a race suffering from every ill that can be inflicted by the combined agency of the thirst for land and the thirst for gold. We have habituated ourselves to consider the Indians as something poetical. We call them Lenni Lennapé, and

write odes, elegies and tragedies to their memory. To the unfortunate Delawares, life, alas! is prose. They are a suffering and unhappy race, ruined by the shock of successive wars, for quarrels not their own, or driven to combat by distressing necessity. Wandering upon the banks of the Wabash or the Arkansas, while we possess their old and well known seats, they are still the same people who were so long the faithful allies of Pennsylvania; the men who succoured our ancestors and enable them to form a state. Does not that state owe something to its former friends and partisans?

NOTE.

The writer of the preceding sheets feels it as an act of justice to acknowledge the valuable assistance which he has received in their compilation. From Mr. Rawle he received the substantial favour of a very extended and interesting set of references. To Mr. Duponceau, he is indebted for several highly useful suggestions, most of which, he believes, are referred to their proper source in the text. To the Rev. Canon Monteagudo, of Mexico, he owes references to the learned and copious work of Garcia; and he only regrets not having enjoyed such valuable assistance at a time and to an extent which would have made him better acquainted with the early Spanish writers. He must add to the list his young friend, Dr. Edward Rice, of Litiz, Pennsylvania; without whose assistance in translating Vater, he could scarcely have executed his purpose.

THE END.

A
DISCOURSE,
DELIVERED BEFORE THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF
PENNSYLVANIA,
THE NINTH DAY OF APRIL, 1836,
ON
THE PRIVATE LIFE AND DOMESTIC HABITS
OF
WILLIAM PENN.

BY J. FRANCIS FISHER.

VOL. III.

9

At a special meeting of the HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
held at Philadelphia, on Saturday, the 9th of April, 1835:

It was resolved that the thanks of the Society be presented to J. FRANCIS FISHER, Esq., for his interesting discourse on "The Private Life and Domestic Habits of William Penn," this day pronounced, and that he be requested to furnish a copy for publication.

J. R. TYSON, Secretary.

DISCOURSE.

WITH the same spirit in which we visit the residences of authors, whose works have been our delight or consolation, or of Statesmen and Philanthropists, whose memories we bless; with the same interest we feel while we look at the mouldering furniture of their chambers, seat ourselves in the chairs they have reposed in, or look out upon the gardens which were once their recreation, do we collect from letters or diaries, and the recollections of the aged, the few scattered notices of their habits and their manners. We try to complete their picture by combining every circumstance of dress or personal peculiarity—and even those particulars which can have no bearing upon the character of their temper or their genius, all deserve a careful preservation; for like the buttons and collar of a painted portrait, they are important to perfect the picture, though they form no part of the likeness.

When we strive to recollect a great man, seen in former years, perhaps the most frivolous particular may first present itself; and the fashion or colour of a coat may be remembered, while we are unable to recall any trace of his features or a single tone of his voice. Yet imperfect as is our reminiscence, we value it. Let us not then despise as frivolous the antiquarian research which has been able to present us with a description of Charles V. in his furred cap and gown of black taffety, drinking a quart of Rhenish wine at a draught; or of

Hobbes smoking ten pipes at a sitting, while composing his *Leviathan*: let us not disregard the account of the great Frederick's little greyhound, which he carried with him even to battle; or refuse to listen to Brantome, while he describes the table of the Chancellor l'Hospital, served daily, as he tells us, with a single dish of boiled meat. All these things may be of no importance in themselves; yet while matters of more moment might escape us, these may perhaps attach themselves to our memory and in some way serve to bind together and sustain our recollections of greater things, just as the twisting tendrils of the vine serve to support the long branches and luscious clusters of the grape.

Yet even particulars like these have sometimes an intrinsic interest and importance when they relate to those whom we regard as great teachers of philosophy and morals. When we find that Aristotle was magnificent in his *dress*, and that his fingers were covered with costly gems—or when we learn that Epicurus was contented with the simplest fare, "*lætus plantaribus exigui horti*," we have an opportunity of judging how far the principles which they have given to others as the rules of life, have governed the minds from which they emanated. But without selecting as an instance, one whose vanity resisted the empire of his reason—or him who with a cold temperament lived purely in spite of the principles of a libertine, even in those cases where the practice of morality has been guided by their declared precepts of virtue—the particulars of private life are worthy of investigation, that we may learn the author's application of his own maxims, and how far in his *practice* he could relax the rigour of his own laws of life.

These considerations will perhaps give interest to the picture I shall now attempt to sketch of the *Private Life of William Penn*. Not only as a distinguished writer on Theology and an eloquent teacher of morals, and as one of the Patriarchs of a peculiar sect, (separating itself from others on

grounds of stricter morality, condemning the vices and vanities of the world, avoiding most of its pleasures, and claiming for themselves the character of followers of Christ in primitive simplicity, humility, and purity,) is it interesting and important to know how far he tolerated and practised the customs of the world, and what interpretation he put by his own conduct on the rules of discipline of his Society. But, as the great lawgiver and advocate of our liberties—as the friend of our ancestors, and their conductor to these shores—his manner of life and personal habits—his public carriage as proprietary, and private demeanour as a gentleman, are surely worthy of our curiosity. And although I can amuse you with but few traits of personal peculiarity or of intellectual eccentricity, I congratulate myself, that, laying aside all consideration of him as a patriot, a lawgiver, or an author, and directing your attention to the retreats of his domestic life, I shall be able to offer such a picture of gentleness, benevolence, and urbanity; such perfect consistency of generosity and goodness, that you may all experience, as I have done, a pleasure similar to that of the naturalist, who, tearing off the petals of a beautiful flower, finds the inmost structure of its core more curiously fashioned, more exquisitely delicate than the external tints and graceful form which had at first delighted him.

The pages which I shall read to you on this occasion contain the results of an examination, made some time since, of the original cash book of William Penn, and his letters of business to his agents in Pennsylvania. The extracts then made, together with a few anecdotes and traditions preserved elsewhere, I have endeavoured to weave into a connected account of the Private Life and Domestic Habits of the Founder of our State and City.

My narrative may be tedious; my incidents common-place; my particulars trivial; but anecdotes are not to be extracted from a cash book—and letters to a steward afford few traits of character. So barren were the fields I had undertaken to

reap, that I resolved to collect the whole scanty product and leave nothing for the gleanings of future antiquaries—trusting that all true Pennsylvanians would pardon my laborious minuteness. If writers of travels have thought proper to describe the stockings of Queen Elizabeth, preserved at Hatfield, and the night-cap of Voltaire at Ferney, may I not venture to tell you what were the dress, furniture, and equipage of a man, at least as worthy of immortality?

WHEN William Penn returned from France, in August, 1664, he is represented by Pepys as "a most modish person grown; quite a fine gentleman." This intimates what we have confirmation of elsewhere, that he had acquired at the court of Louis XIV. all the external graces for which the society of Paris was at that time celebrated: and although at a date three years subsequent, we find in the same diary that "Mr. William Penn, who is lately come over from Ireland, is a Quaker again, or some very melancholy thing, that he cares for no company nor comes into any, which is a pleasant thing after his being abroad so long:" yet it is impossible to believe that the effects of his fashionable education were altogether lost. The best results of dancing and fencing are that the first gives an easy graceful air; the latter a noble manly carriage of the body: and the most important precepts of the education of society are those which teach us to consider the feelings and yield to the prejudices of others in small matters—to correct offensive habits, and to suppress obnoxious opinions. These little matters are often disregarded by stern religionists, and they thus earn odium for themselves and their profession. Perhaps we should never hear the taunt of Puritanism, if they all had the urbanity, the easy grace of manner which we have reason to think distinguished William Penn, who, as he says of himself, "knew no religion that de-

stroys courtesy, civility, and kindness, which rightly understood are great indications of true men, if not of good Christians."

At the time when was painted the Portrait, presented to our Society by his grandson, William Penn was a finished gentleman, with the solid advantages of education embellished by all the accomplishments of the age. His appearance was eminently handsome; the expression of his countenance remarkably pleasing and sweet; his eye dark and lively, and his hair flowing gracefully over his shoulders, according to the fashion set by the worthless though fascinating Charles the Second. How far he adopted the frivolities of the English Court, or how long he joined in its dissipations, we do not exactly know: but we cannot doubt that his principles were shocked and his good taste disgusted by the profanity and indecency, the heartless levity, the dishonest prodigality, and the awful profligacy which have gained eternal infamy for that monarch and his courtiers. No one can believe that William Penn was their companion in their *vices*; we cannot even think of him in "a jackanape's coat with silver buttons,"* or changing his suit from velvet to cloth, from silk to camlet, with the monthly variation of the mode, or dangling at the toilet of "Mistress Nelly," or paying court to the still more infamous Castlemaine. Yet did he associate with the nobility of England, frequent the court, and was on terms of easy familiarity with the gayest and wittiest of the times: And although, after his final profession of Quakerism, he withdrew from the brilliant circles of London and associated chiefly with the humble and despised sect whose principles he had embraced, though he renounced the vanities and frivolous fashions of the day, and declined the usages which he deemed unworthy of his sense and Christianity; though he thereby astonished his friends and seriously offended his father, and

* Pepys' Diary, which see for the costume of the times.

at the same time not only refused the offers of royal favour and patronage, but suffered repeated imprisonments rather than yield a point of conscience: yet it is remarkable that we do not find he forfeited the respect or even incurred the ridicule of his old friends and companions. Whenever he appeared at court, either in the cause of his own Society, or to solicit toleration or pardon for others, he was always received with kindness and even affection, whether he applied to the bigoted James, or the dissolute and witty Buckingham, or the corrupt Sunderland, or the crafty Halifax. And when, after receiving the grant of Pennsylvania, his solicitude for the affairs of the colony, as well as the interests of his religious sect, induced him to reside constantly in London or its vicinity, we do not find that he incurred neglect or satire, though at a time when singularity in apparel, sour austerity and formal sobriety were the favourite themes of daily epigrams. When paying his court at Whitehall, or following the merry monarch to the races at Newmarket, or accompanying his successor on his tour through England; when surrounded by such men as Rochester and Killigrew, Etheredge and Jermyn, a stiff carriage and a stern countenance would not only have been misplaced, but fatal to the objects of his pursuit. The truth is, that William Penn was as courteous and tolerant as he was honest and virtuous; that he was neither affectedly plain in apparel, nor sanctimonious in demeanour: while his pure morality and noble love of liberty inspired the respect of the servile and dissolute, even their favour was secured by his cheerful good-humour and his temperate wit.

That his conversation was distinguished for vivacity and humour we have the report of tradition, confirmed by the opinion of the greatest wit of the age, Dean Swift, who says "that he talked very agreeably and with great spirit." And by another contemporary testimony still more remarkable, that of "Friends of Reading Meeting" who inform us that he was "facetious in conversation;" and it was one of his own

maxims "that wit gives an edge to sense and recommends it extremely." We are thus assured that he was not only "grave with the wise," but "with the witty gay." And though he never imitated the licentious jesters of the times, we cannot doubt that he was often called upon to exercise his humour at the court of Charles and James, either in self-defence or in the honest hope of making vice ridiculous.

So little did he obtrude on the notice of others his religious peculiarities, that he was by many believed to be a member of the society of Jesus, the most accomplished order in the Catholic church, and so scrupulously did he avoid offence, that he rarely made use of "thee and thou," if it was possible to form his sentences without them: and it is curious to observe in his letters to persons of high rank or station how gracefully he escapes the use of these familiar and uncourtly pronouns, speaking to his correspondent either in the third person or by his title. If he refused to put off his hat as a token of respect, I may remark, that it was by no means so unusual to wear it in company as it is now. Pepys complains of "a simple fellow" of a preacher who "exclaimed against wearing of hats in church;" and, speaking of the French service at the Savoy, says, "I never before saw the minister preach with his hat off." After dining in company, he says, "I got a strange cold in my head by flinging my hat off at dinner," and in Lord Clarendon's *Essay on the Decay of Respect for Old Age*, he states, "that in his younger days he never kept his hat on before those older than himself, except at dinner."

If William Penn gave no offence in these particulars, I do not doubt he also avoided ridicule in the style of his personal attire. His own maxim on the subject addressed to his children is, "choose thy clothes by thine own eyes, not another's—the more plain and simple they are, the better—neither *unshapely* nor *fantastical*, for use and decency and not for pride." With such opinions, we may be sure his garments were never *uncouth*. Of his style of dress, we have no other account than

the tradition recorded by Clarkson, that it was very neat and plain; but if the costume of the statue before the Pennsylvania hospital be such as he ever wore, (which is highly probable, towards the end of his life,) it is certainly far from inelegant, and proves that he must have changed the cut of his coat when the variation of fashion became striking, for such a dress as that was not worn till the time of Queen Anne. While the Puritans were preaching against the use of buckles and wigs—the latter a ridiculous superfluity, if any thing be so—William Penn made use of both, as we learn by his cash book: and although it is not probable that, like his contemporary, Sir Richard Steele, he ever spent 40 guineas in a periwig:—yet, even when in Pennsylvania, he purchased four in one year, at the cost of nearly four pounds each, and as two of these, at least, came from England, and a third was made at Newcastle, we are to conclude that no perruquier had as yet established himself at Philadelphia. Though we find in the same cash book frequent entries of monies paid to Charles Blackburn Taylor, no doubt the first in his line at Philadelphia, we have unfortunately no description of the garments thus charged, nor any other articles of dress specified, except a pair of stockings for the Governor at eight shillings, and a pair of gambadoes (a kind of leathern overalls for riding or shooting) which cost £1. 2*sh.* and frequent notice of the dressing of the Governor's hats—of which three at one time, were in the hatter's hands to be furbished up;* and on the whole, while I am

* We have no better means of judging of the style of dress of Hannah Penn and Lætitia, then a girl of about 18; but we find in the said cash book frequent notice of bills paid for them, as for instance, "By expenses paid Esther Masters, for making frocks, 14 shillings. By ditto paid Sarah Thomson for making caps, £1. 4*s.* 6*d.* By Lætitia, paid Francis Richardson, for a pair of buckles, £2. By ditto paid D. Vaughan, watchmaker, for mending Lætitia's watch, 4*s.* By expenses paid Cæsar Ghiselin, the goldsmith's note, £1. 14*s.* By expenses paid Johan Nys, goldsmith, his note, £2. 10*s.* What article of jewelry, William Penn permitted his wife or daughter to wear is not mentioned, but, that ornaments of gold were not

far from suspecting him of foppishness, I should be much more ready to acquit him of the "*affectatæ sordes*," than to deny for him the "*exquisitæ munditiæ*." While on the subject of his wigs and hats, I may state, that after he left America, in 1684 he presented his stock of the former to his deputy Thomas Lloyd, and that English beavers were a common token from him to his friends in this country. On one occasion he presents a hat to Edward Shippen, the first mayor of this city, "which has," he observes, "*the true mayoral brim*:" by which it seems he was willing that the hat, while on the head, might indicate dignity of station, however much opposed to making the taking of it off a sign of respect.

It is related of William Penn, that when his great friend King James asked him to explain the difference between their religions, the Roman Catholic and that of the Quakers, he answered by comparing the one to the hat then worn by himself, which was plain; the other to that of the King, which was adorned with feathers and ribands. "The only difference," said he, "lies in the ornaments which have been added to thine." Though this anecdote is well worth quoting to show the enlarged spirit of Christian charity which suggested such an illustration, it is now only repeated to prove that William Penn was not, at that period at least, out of the fashion in the shape of his hat—an article in which fashions were so changeable among Christians—that an author of those times* tells us that the Turks used to curse each other with the wish "may thou be as variable as a Christian's hat."—If it were inquired what was the form then in vogue, it would, I think, be found that the beavers then most common in the purlieus of the palace had low crowns and broad brims, very much turned up and curled at the sides—shovel-shaped

altogether forbidden by the Quakers of those times, we may judge from the circumstance, that James Logan wrote to England, for "a fine gold chain for his wife, such as young girls use to wear."

* Evelyn.

perhaps on graver characters—on men of ton, cocked high or low according to the variations of their humour, or to indicate, as patches did in later times, the political divisions of their wearers.

I may remark, while on the subject of the dress of William Penn, that Mr. West, and I believe all other painters who have introduced the early Quakers into their pictures, are chargeable with great mistakes, in the costumes they have selected for them; in many instances, giving them hats and coats of a form not even invented for half a century after the date of the scene they have wished to represent upon their canvas; and in the celebrated Picture of the Treaty under the Elm, our Pennsylvania Painter, besides his unpardonable misconception, in representing the graceful and athletic Penn, at the age of 38, as a fat old man, of a very ordinary appearance; has put him and his companions in dresses which, if they ever wore at all, they certainly did not till nearly 30 years after the settlement of Pennsylvania.

It seems probable, that Mr. West represented in his picture from recollection the appearance of his own father, and the old Quakers he had known in his youth, without stopping to inquire or even think whether they had preserved unchanged the costume of their grandfathers, the first colonists.*

* The true costume for the picture would have been that in vogue towards the end of the reign of Charles II. This (as near as I can ascertain) was a collarless coat, perfectly straight in front with many buttons—showing no waist, nor cut into skirts, having only a short buttoned slit behind; the sleeves hardly descending below the elbow, and having large cuffs, showing the full shirt sleeves. The vest was as long as the coat, and, except as to the sleeves, made apparently in the same way. The breeches were very full, open at the sides, and tied with strings. About the hats, I have less certainty, as these varied three or four times in this reign, as Butler says,

Being first high-crowned, like pyramids,
And next as flat as pipkin lids,
Sometimes with broad brims like umbrellas,
And then as narrow as punchinellas.

The Quakers have certainly never run after fashion, but while they disregarded all its minor aberrations, they seem to have followed it at a distance in many of its great changes and revolutions—and I think it would not be difficult to prove that from the days of George Fox, to the middle of the 18th century, every prominent and continued variation in the shape of hats and coats, could be traced in some corresponding alterations in the costume of the society: these variations are surely as consistent with the modesty and plainness which they aimed at as they were with good taste, and though their rules forbade gaudy attire and useless ornaments, I have never heard that they prescribed uniformity or the perpetuity of any particular costume.

I have detained you with these observations, that I might put on record a fact, which may hereafter be useful to our own society or any of its members, who may have occasion to direct the painting of an historical picture, in which the founder of our province or the early settlers are to be introduced. It is to be hoped that a blunder which detracts so much from the value of West's Picture of the Treaty, and from that of the portrait in the apartment beneath us, may never again be committed.

But to return to William Penn, and to speak next of his horses and equipage. What style he maintained in England I know not, but we may judge it was at least equal to his stable establishment in Pennsylvania. Here he had his coach, a cumbrous vehicle no doubt, and little used except in Philadelphia and its neighbourhood, in consequence of the badness of the roads, which even to Pennsbury were nearly impassable but for horsemen. A calash probably referred to by a contemporary pamphleteer as a "rattling leathern conveniency," in which he drove about from one country meeting to another, and a sedan chair, which Hannah Penn might have used on her more sociable gossiping visits among her friends in the city.

When he travelled either to New York, or to the Susquehannah, and visited the Proprietor of Maryland, on the confines of their territories, it was on horseback—and as I find in the inventory of goods at Pennsbury three side saddles mentioned, his wife and daughter Lætitia were doubtless often the companions of his rides. When they met the Lord and Lady Baltimore, they were followed by a large cavalcade, and several of the chief men of the colony accompanied the Proprietor on his visit to the Indian Sachems on the Susquehannah; where, according to Isaac Norris, “after a roundabout journey, in which they had pretty well travelled the wilderness, they lived nobly at the king’s palace at Conestogoe.”

During his first visit to this country, William Penn generally rode a large white horse; but he had also a “ball nagg,” which he probably used at Pennsbury when overlooking the improvements of his farm: he often inquires about them in his letters to James Harrison, and directs especial care to be taken, that they should not be injured in his absence. Like all English gentlemen, he was fond of horses, and desirous to introduce the best stock into America. We find he had, at his first visit, three blood mares; and he promises his steward to bring more on his return, as well as a fine horse; the latter promise at least he fulfilled in 1700, by importing the horse Tamerlane, probably of Arabian blood, and perhaps a colt of the great Godolphin Barb, to which the most celebrated horses in England trace their origin. If he had no other opportunities of becoming acquainted with horses, his sojourn with the Court at New-market, must have given him some skill, which he could turn to good account, in providing his colony with the finest stock of those noble animals.

But his favourite mode of travelling, seems to have been by water. A taste inspired, perhaps, by his father the Admiral, or acquired at Oxford, where the students of Christ Church have been for ages, celebrated as oarsmen, may ac-

count for his extraordinary solicitude about his yacht and barge; of which latter, he thus speaks to his steward: "But above all dead things, my barge, I hope no body uses it on any account, and that she is kept in a dry dock, or at least covered from the weather." This barge, or the one that replaced it in 1700, must have been a vessel of some stateliness, if we may judge by the sums which appear from the cash book to have been spent upon it, of which I may instance the charge of William Corker for painting it, 3*l.* 10*s.* It had its regular officers and crew, of whom George Markham, was boatswain, and Michael Larzillier, cockswain, receiving their wages as such, and required, I infer, six oars. It appears to have been provided with a sail and awnings, and though there is no mention of a flag, it is not unlikely that he spread a broad pennant with the Proprietary's arms, which he was not unwilling to display in all his public acts. This barge was preserved with great care, after William Penn's last departure. James Logan had a house built over it, for its protection, and it was not used until the arrival of young William Penn, except on the occasion of Lord Cornbury's visit to Philadelphia.

We also find mention of several smaller boats, at Pennsylvania, in which, on shorter excursions for exercise or pleasure, he may have been used,

"To spread the thin oar, or catch the driving gale."

or to scull along the banks of the Delaware, with his gun or angle. That he was not averse from fishing, and fowling, we know by the mention in the cash book of "the repair of the governor's gun," and by his request to James Logan, to give his son occasional amusement in the woods, and upon the waters; and, that the field sports which he enjoyed in his youth were not condemned in his more advanced age, we may infer from his particular directions, that his son's stag and fox hounds should be well taken care of. "If says he," my

son sends hounds, as he has provided two or three couples of choice ones, for deer, foxes and wolves, pray let great care be taken of them, and let I. Sotcher, quarter them about as with young Biles, &c." And why may we not suppose, that William Penn, occasionally partook of "the heart cheering pleasures of the field?" Why may we not, picture him to ourselves, like his virtuous contemporary, Isaac Walton, relaxing from the cares of public business;

"And haply 'on some river's cooling bank,
Patiently musing, while intent he stands,
To hook the scaly glutton?"

With his family he had occasionally other recreations; in attending a fair, or an Indian Cantico; of both of which the cash book gives evidence, such as these. By my mistress, at the fair, 2*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.* By expenses given to Hannah Carpenter, for a fairing, 8*s.* By ditto to two children for comfits, pr. order, 1*s.* 6*d.* By the Governor going to a Cantico, *fl.* 18*s.* 4*d.* We have frequent mention of his visits to the Indians, which gave him an opportunity to study their character; and he conciliated their favour, by partaking of their feasts, and witnessing their dances. A respectable old lady, the grandmother of Samuel Preston, related, that in his desire to gain the good will of the Aborigines, "he walked with them, sat with them, on the ground, and ate with them, their roasted acorns and hominy. At this, they expressed their great delight, and soon began to show, how they could hop, and jump; at which exhibition William Penn, to cap the climax, sprang up and beat them all." I should be loath to doubt the accuracy of the old lady's memory, for is it not a delightful thought, that our good founder so grave and dignified, on solemn occasions, in the playful joyousness of a good heart, could thus o'erstep the bounds of ceremony, lay aside his gravity, and join heartily in the innocent sports of the kind and peaceful Lenne-Lennape?

On public occasions William Penn was not unwilling to use all the ceremony suitable in a place, where as yet

“Pride there was not, nor arts that pride to aid.”

He was well aware that, by the ignorant, respect is more readily paid to the law, and to the officers who administer it, if surrounded by a certain dignity and solemnity of forms. We are, therefore, not surprised to find in a scurrilous pamphlet, of the day before quoted,* that the “Proprietor’s Corps de Garde generally consists of seven or eight of his chief magistrates, both ecclesiastical and civil, which always attend him, and sometimes more, when he perambulates the city: one bare-headed, with a long wand over his shoulders, in imitation of the Lord Marshal of England, marches gradually before him and his train, and sometimes proclamation is made to clear the way.” And if we make some allowance for probable exaggeration, we may understand by it, that when the Proprietor went to open the Assembly, or to hold the High Court of the Provincial Council, he was preceded by the members of that body and the sheriff and peace officers of Philadelphia, with their staves of office. We find, also, in the same pamphlet, that “there are certain days appointed for audience, and as for the rest, you may keep your distance.” And again—“The gate of his house, or palace, is always guarded by a Janisary, armed with a club of near ten foot long, crowned with a large silver head, embossed and chased as a hieroglyphic of the master’s pride;” all of which is susceptible of a similar interpretation,—for, if for convenience sake, he had his days and hours of business appointed; or if, while the council was in session, an officer guarded his door, or a porter held his station there, with a tall silver-headed cane, such

* “NEWS FROM PENNSYLVANIA, or a brief Narrative of several remarkable passages in the Government of the Quakers,” &c.—London, 36 pp. 12mo. 1703. “Published by the author of the Pilgrim’s Progress”—(said to be written by Francis Bugg.)

as even now are seen in Europe, the exaggeration does not seem a very extraordinary one in a writer anxious to bring odium on the government of the Quakers. But lest this testimony should be esteemed suspicious, I will confirm it by the best of evidence, that of William Penn himself. In a note written at Pennsbury, in July, 1700, he gives directions to James Logan to prepare for the arrival of Governors Nicholson and Blackiston of Virginia and Maryland, and requests him to write a circular to the officers of the different counties, directing the sheriffs to receive their Excellencies in state, with a party of twenty horsemen at least, on the borders of each county, and to accompany them through it to meet those of the next; and requiring all the magistrates of each place to wait on them—some to ride out, and others to receive them on alighting, and to lodge them and their servants at their private houses: And still further to show the respect which even the Quakers of those days were disposed to pay to rank and station, I will quote from a letter of James Logan to the Proprietor, an account of Lord Cornbury's reception in Philadelphia, in June, 1702. "He (Lord Cornbury, then at Burlington,) expressed a willingness to give our Province a visit, and therefore had an invitation on Second Day morning. I hastened down to make provision, and in a few hours' time had a very handsome dinner, really equal, they say, to any thing he had seen in America.* At night he was invited to Edward Shippen's, where he lodged and dined to-day with all his company, near thirty in number. He has just now gone off in the barge very handsomely attended, expressing a great satisfaction in the place and the decency of his entertainment in all its parts."

Lord Cornbury, on his way back to New York, paid a visit to Pennsbury. James Logan writes, "he was attended all the way with four boats besides his own, and about ten in

* The cash book informs us that this dinner cost £10 1s. 8d.

the morning arrived there with fifty in company. With Mary's great diligence, and all our care, we got ready a handsome country entertainment, which, though much inferior to those at Philadelphia for cost, &c., yet, for the decency and good order, gave no less satisfaction, which he expressed at his departure to the highest degree, promising to acknowledge it particularly to thee." Such was the deference in those days shown to rank and station, even in a community of Quakers.

But to return to my subject. No one can doubt the pleasure of William Penn in the exercise of hospitality: and we find that he frequently entertained at Pennsbury, not only all the distinguished strangers who visited Pennsylvania, but most of the chief families of the province. Though his house was handsomely furnished, and his table plentifully spread, he permitted no extravagance in either—for it was his maxim that "it destroys hospitality, and wrongs the poor." His pastures, his gardens, and the woods and waters around him, afforded him plenty, and of the best provisions, which, as the catalogue of his "*batterie de cuisine*"* proves, must have been simply dressed; and his cook, Ann Nichols, could have been little learned in the "*Book of Cookery*, which," as her master says, "hath outgrown the Bible, and, I fear, is read oftener—to be sure it is of more use."† His residence in Paris had not inspired him with a taste for the exquisite produc-

* It includes a Dog-wheel.

† There is a book of Cookery (printed in 1682,) in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, entitled, I believe, "*Ministers of the mouth.*" This might throw some curious light upon the manners and habits of the times. Will no one undertake to write a history of cookery, giving us a catalogue raisonné of all the works on the subject, from that of Apicius to Udés, with an account of all the distinguishing dishes of each age? The Romans, in some respects, certainly had the advantage of us, having established schools, not only for cooks but for carvers, where jointed models of every dish gave almost surgical skill to the accomplished sewer.

tions of the French culinary art, as we may infer from the following extracts from his maxims: "The sauce is now preferred before the meat; twelve pennyworths of flesh, with five shillings of cookery, may happen to make a fashionable dish; plain beef and mutton is become dull food; but by the time its natural relish is lost in the crowd of cook's ingredients, and the meat sufficiently disguised to the eaters, it passes under a French name for a rare dish." Yet he was not insensible of the simple luxuries of the country, as appears by the following extract from a letter to his steward: "Pray send us some two or three smoaked haunches of venison and pork—get them of the Swedes; also some smoaked shadds and beef—the old Priest at Philadelphia had rare shadds."

The cash book proves that the cellar at Pennsbury was well supplied with beer, cider, and wine, of which, the kinds mentioned, are Sherry, (then called sack,) Madeira, Canary, and Claret. His own maxim, that strong liquors are good at some times, and in small proportions, "being better for physic, than food, for cordials, than for common use," was confirmed by his practice,—for we find little mention in the cash book, of brandy or rum, except when expressly designed for the entertainment of the Indians: and the tradition of the Proprietor's aversion to tobacco is confirmed, by the cash book having only one entry of its purchase, and then to the amount of ten pence. Notwithstanding the copious supply of fuel from the woods, William Penn, at least on one occasion, purchased English coal at forty shillings per ton. And the repeated mention of Irish and Rhode Island butter, proves that our market had not then acquired its reputation for that delicious article. Tea, coffee, and chocolate, though at the beginning of the last century very common beverages in England, were not much in use in Pennsylvania. The family of the Proprietary were occasionally obliged to send to New York, by the postman, for coffee; and on one occasion paid

18s. 9d. for a pound of the berry. Chocolate was several times procured at Philadelphia—but I do not find that any tea was purchased for the family, although, as a teapot is mentioned in the catalogue of goods at Pennsbury, they had, it is probable, brought with them a supply. It appears not to have been for sale in Philadelphia during the first years of the century, though it was occasionally sent here from England in small quantities by William Penn as presents to his friends, and particularly James Logan, who also writes to England for a supply, and, as he says, had become a great drinker of it as early as 1703.

In examining the inventory of the Proprietor's effects at Pennsbury and Philadelphia, I find that his table furniture was of a very handsome description. It includes a great number of damask table cloths and napkins; a "suite of Tunbridge ware," besides blue and white china, and a supply of silver which even now would be considered remarkable, in which even eight silver forks are mentioned, a refinement at that time little known in England, though common in Italy from the age of the Medici.* I would not, however, represent that William Penn brought with him to this country a service of plate: That would have been, indeed, incongruous with his professions, his position, and his fortune. Dishes and plates, not of silver, but of pewter, were spread on the table of the Proprietor. The rest of the furniture of the two houses was all that comfort required. Mahogany was not then known, and the spider tables, and high-backed carved chairs were then of solid oak, or of the darker walnut.

*Illa domi natus nostrarque ex arbore mensas
Tempora viderunt.*

He had one set of Turkey worked chairs, arm-chairs, and couches with cushions of plush and satin: and in the second parlour a great leathern chair, no doubt the Proprietor's fa-

* See Ben Jonson, in one of whose plays a travelled exquisite of the days of Elizabeth, is ridiculed for introducing, from Italy, the use of silver forks.

avourite seat. Why was it not transmitted to our times, or at least the fashion of it? The great leathern chair of Voltaire is now imitated all over the world. What a zest it would add to *our* comforts if, while reposing in an easy well stuffed chair, we knew we were following a fashion invented, or approved by the Founder of our State?

Cushions of satin, or damask, or camlet, or striped linen, were hung in each room, according to its dignity. I find, also, mention of a carpet in one apartment, but it appears rather to have been the covering of a table than a floor; indeed at that period it was a luxury little known in Europe; and at the present day, on the continent, is not universal, even in the palaces of princes.

These particulars, which would otherwise be frivolous and tedious, are mentioned to prove that while William Penn and the contemporary writers of his sect declaim against "inexcusable superfluities," and "unprofitable things of state," they did not mean to denounce the liberal expenses of a gentleman, such as became his fortune and contributed to comforts, not to enervating luxury. He had heard of the apartments of the kings and mistresses at Whitehall, where all the furniture, even to the tables and bedsteads, were of curiously wrought and massive silver.* He had seen, as he says, "a ceiling of a room which cost half as much as the house."—He had seen the national wealth squandered, the monarch only supporting his extravagance by the bribes of France. He had witnessed the private estates of honourable families ruined, in their efforts to vie with the splendours of the court; and both public and private honour sacrificed in this shameful career of profligacy and expense. It was by this scene that

* Vide Pepys' Diary for a description of Castlemaine's chamber. In an apartment at Knowle, in Kent, the ancient seat of the Dukes of Dorset, the silver furniture of the time of Charles II. is still preserved. The tables, bedsteads, wardrobes, frames of glasses and pictures, &c. are covered with exquisitely wrought silver representing animals, mythological figures, &c. in high relief.

his good sense and principles were shocked; it was at these vices that his denunciations were aimed; but his whole life shows that he was willing to spend his income liberally in the support of his station as a gentleman, and his state as Proprietor of Pennsylvania. He knew that the only true use of wealth is, to spend it: and though nothing should be wasted, he wished to "join with economy munificence;" and he only admits "*that frugality is good, if liberality be joined with it.*"

Of his liberality and charity, his cash book bears the most gratifying evidence. His daily movements may be traced by some act of benevolence recorded there. Excited by generosity, or softened by pity, he thought not of his own necessities; he measured not his income. Among his own beautiful maxims we find, "The saying is, that he who gives to the poor lends to the Lord: but it may be said not improperly, the Lord lends to us to give to the poor: They are at least partners by Providence with you, and have a right you must not defraud them of." How satisfactory is it after reading this to turn to the record of his daily expenses, and find, on every page, some such entry as these: "By charity given to a poor sailor in prison, per order, 15s. By expenses given a poor negro, per order, 2s. Nor were his gifts limited to sums like these. In cases of sickness or peculiar distress, two or three pounds, and even larger sums, are ordered to be given. There were several poor old persons who seem to have been regular pensioners, receiving their 50 shillings a quarter, or their 6 shillings per fortnight. The poor dependants on his bounty were never forgotten. In his letters from England, in the midst of his complaints of the Assembly's niggardliness, he breaks off with such hints as these to his secretary, James Logan: "Pray remember poor Charles Jones' family in that farm, in the midst of other affairs." "Be kind to poor Lucy and the Dutchman." I will add but one instance of his charity, and it is a striking one. We are told by Thomas Story, that when the Proprietor arrived at Chester, on his return from England, some foolish young men wishing to testify their

joy, by firing off an old cannon which had no doubt remained there from the time of the Swedish government—the piece burst, and one of them lost his arm. His name is not mentioned—but, on turning to the cash book, we find in January this entry: “By expenses to B. Bevan, of Chester, who lost his arm, 10s. 8d.” But the poor lad was careless of his wound, or unfortunate in his surgeon. Again and again we find him noticed in the cash book, and at last, on April 20th, we see these melancholy items entered in succession:—By expenses for a woman watching with B. Bevan, 6s. By ditto to the grave digger, 3s. and 4d. By ditto to F. Jervais, in part of B. Bevan’s charges, £2. 10s. We cannot doubt the grief of our Proprietor at an event so sad, springing from the very joy and gladness diffused by his return to his people.

His letters mention many poor, but respectable individuals sent by him to this country, and here supported partly, or entirely by him, until their own industry could secure them a respectable livelihood, and his own conduct fully exemplifies his beautiful definition of liberality. “She finds out virtue in a low degree, and exalts it. She eases their burden, that labour hard to live. Many kind and generous spells such find at her hand that don’t quite want, that she thinks worthy. The decayed are sure to hear of her. She takes one child, and puts out another, to lighten the loads of overcharged parents. More to the fatherless. She shows the value of services in her rewards, and is never debtor to kindnesses, but will be creditor on all accounts; where another gives sixpence, the liberal man gives his shilling, and returns double the tokens he receives.”

He was particularly generous to the servants of his friends, when they brought from them a present of a deer, or a sheep, or a box of oranges, they never left his door, without half a crown for their trouble, and when he lodged at the houses of others, his presents to their children, and vails to their servants, would have done credit to a richer man. After passing some time at Edward Shippens, he directed his Secretary to

divide among four of the servants, £2. 12s. 8d., no inconsiderable sum in those times; and, upon his arrival in the Canterbury from England, he distributed among the ship's company nearly six pounds, a handsome sum even in our days.

I esteem these minute particulars both curious and valuable: while ready, as Proprietary, to make every sacrifice of interest or privilege, for the good of his colony, his purse was always open to the poor, and whatever he possessed was liberally shared with those dependent upon him. He may, I admit, be charged with improvidence. It is, unfortunately, too true that

—— of qualities deserving praise,
More go to ruin fortunes, than to raise.

Had he closely attended to his estate in Ireland, had he neglected none of his advantages in Pennsylvania, he would have prevented the villany of Philip Ford, escaped the mortification of imprisonment for debt, avoided many irritating difficulties with the colonists, and ended his life in wealth and comfort in his beloved province: but, we should have lost some of the brightest passages of his history, which relate, that neglecting his own affairs, expending lavishly his own fortune, he devoted himself, in the first place, to the planting of his colony, and securing its liberties and privileges, and, in the second, to the cause so dear to him, of liberty of conscience. While urging with the King the establishment of universal toleration, or pleading the cause of the misguided followers of Monmouth, or advocating the claims of Pennsylvania, before the Lords of Trade, he left his own affairs in the hands of a faithless steward, who, while he supported by his loans the generous expenditures of his master, was weaving his meshes around him, till at last the unsuspecting Penn was threatened with the loss of his mortgaged province; that province which he had planted and reared with so much tenderness, for a paltry debt, infinitely beneath the sums he had expended in establishing it. He looked to America for relief: I would, for

the honour of our ancestors, that I could say, he did not look in vain. It is truly discreditable to the colonists, that so far from easing the burden of debt, or contributing to the support of that man, to whom they owed their peaceful homes, their religious liberties, and political privileges; so far from repaying any part of their obligations to him, who had sacrificed in their cause the best part of his life and wealth; they were refusing payment of his rents, burdening his private estate with the support of public officers, and trying to strip him of the few proprietary privileges he had reserved. Listen to his own eloquent and touching complaint.

“When it pleased God to open a way for me to settle that colony, I had reason to expect a solid comfort from the services done to so many hundreds of people; and it was no small satisfaction to me, that I have not been disappointed in seeing them prosper and growing up to a flourishing country, blest with liberty, ease, and plenty, beyond what many of themselves could expect; and wanting nothing to make themselves happy, but what, with a right temper of mind and prudent conduct, they might give themselves. But, alas! as to *my* part, instead of reaping the like advantages, some of the greatest of my troubles have arose from thence: the many combats I have engaged in; the great pains, and incredible expence, for your welfare and ease, to the decay of my former estate; of which (however some there would represent it) I too sensibly feel the effects; with the undeserved opposition I have met with from thence, sink me into sorrow, that, if not supported by a superior hand, might have overwhelmed me long ago. And I cannot but think it hard measure, that while that has proved a land of freedom, and flourishing, it should become to me, by whose means it was principally made a country, the cause of grief, trouble, and poverty.” And again, after recapitulating some of his services to the colonists, he thus contrasts them with their return:—

“The attacks on my reputation, the many indignities put upon me, in papers sent over hither, into the hands of those

who could not be expected to make the most discreet and charitable use of them; the secret insinuations against *my justice*, besides the attempt made upon my estate; resolves past in the assemblies, for turning my quit rents, never sold by me, to the support of government; my lands entered upon, without any regular method; my manors invaded, (under pretence I had not duly surveyed them) and both these by persons principally concerned in these attempts against me here; a right to my overplus lands, unjustly claimed by the possessors of the tracts in which they are found; my private estate continually exhausting, for the support of that government, both here and there; and no provision made for it by that country; to all which I cannot but add, the violence that has been particularly shown to my Secretary; of which I cannot but thus far take notice, that, from all those charges I have seen, or heard of against him, I have cause to believe, that had he been as much in opposition to me, as he has been understood to stand for me, he might have met with a milder treatment from his prosecutors; and to think, that any man should be more exposed there, on my account, and instead of finding favour, meet with enmity, for his being engaged in my service, is a melancholy consideration! In short, when I reflect on all these heads, of which I have so much cause to complain, and at the same time think of the hardships, I and my suffering family have been reduced to, in no small measure owing to my endeavours for, and disappointments from that province, I cannot but mourn the unhappiness of my portion dealt to me from those, of whom I had reason to expect much better and different things."

Yet, with a patience, which injuries could not exhaust, with a benevolence that ingratitude could not chill, he still thought with fondness of the flock he had gathered, and led to America; still looked at Pennsylvania, as his haven of rest."

And still had hopes, his long vexations past,
Here to return and fix his home at last.

All his directions to his Steward, James Harrison, seem to look to a permanent establishment at Pennsbury; and even after his second departure, he directs the improvements to be continued, and the gardens and house preserved. Though, upon the visit of his son, who he hoped would learn to love Pennsylvania, and establish himself in the province, which was then his destined inheritance; the proprietor thought of resigning the Manor House to his son's family, and placing himself nearer to the capital, and hints that it "would be acceptable if the Town would be so kind as to build me a pretty box like Edward Shippens, upon any of my lots in town, or purchase Griffith Owen's, or T. Fairman's, or any near healthy spot as Wicaco, or the like, for Pennsbury will hardly accommodate my son's family and mine, unless enlarged." And in another letter says to James Logan, "Thou urgest my return, but alas! how is it good sense to save my estate here, to discharge debts, and eat up what I have there, as the best returns? But I want water; launch my vessel; think of that. If I am not worthy of a house, in or near the town, as Griffith Owen's, T. Fairman's, or Daniel Pegg's, or the like, that 500 of your money may purchase for my reception, and at least 500 per annum, to live there, besides my own rents; I have spent all my days, money, and pains, and interest, to a mean purpose. Think of this, and impart it; they will all get by it, as well as myself."* But if James Logan ever conveyed the hint to the colonists, it certainly was not taken by them. The house built afterwards at Springetsbury, was erected at the expense of his sons, and no appropriation was made for his relief. It was, perhaps, too much, to expect generosity from a community chiefly of hard-working mechanics, who had but little money, and lived

* It was but little that he asked for; the greater shame to the colonists, that they complied not with a request so reasonable. Nearly 20 years before, he thus wrote to his steward, James Harrison: "The country thinks not upon my supply, and I resolve never to act the Governor, and keep another family and capacity, upon my private estate. If my table, cellar, and stable, may be provided for, with a barge and yacht, or sloop for the service of

with the utmost frugality; who could neither appreciate the tastes, nor measure the necessities of those born and educated in a higher sphere than their own; but we cannot but be surprised, that the conduct of the Proprietary had not inspired them with unbounded confidence and gratitude; that, owing every thing to him, they were not anxious to prevent his wants, and gratify his every wish.

During his last visit, William Penn's town residence was "the old Slate House," still standing in Second Street, opposite to the bank of Pennsylvania. But he was chiefly at his Manor House of Pennsbury, in Bucks county, a building which, owing to neglect, went to premature decay, and was pulled down a short time before our revolutionary war. Mr. Watson, in the second volume of our Memoirs, describes a visit made to its site, a few years ago, but he could do little more than trace the foundations of the edifice,—

Sunk were its bowers in shapeless ruin all,
And the tall grass o'ertopt the moulding wall.

A landscape view of it, is probably preserved in England; for, in 1686, William Penn wrote to his steward for "a draught of Pennsbury, which an artist would quickly take, with the landscape of the house; out-buildings; their proportion, and distance, one from another; the river, gardens, and orchards, &c." And repeating his request, in another letter adds, "there are those there that can do it;" which may be mentioned as the earliest proof that any of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania were skilled in the arts of design. We may, perhaps, indulge the hope of procuring from Mr. Penn this interesting drawing. In the mean time, some interest may be found in such a description of the house, and grounds, as I have been able to collect, from the various manuscript of the Governor, and government, I may try to gett hence. For in the sight of God, I can say, I am five thousand pounds and more behindhand, more than ever I received or saw, for land in that province, and to be so baffled by the merchants, is very discouraging.

thorities, to which I am indebted for the facts in the present discourse.

The principal mansion was about 60 feet in front, facing the river. It was two stories in height, and of brick. Its appearance was, it is said, stately, and it was entered by a handsome porch and steps. On the first floor was a large hall, probably the whole length of the house, used on public occasions for the meeting of the council, and the entertainment of strangers, and the Indians; a little hall, and at least three parlors, all wainscoted, and communicating by folding-doors. On the roof was a large leaden reservoir, for water, to the leakage of which, is attributed, in part, the ruin of the mansion. The outhouses, which were uniform, and facing in a line with the house, were 1st, a kitchen and larder; 2d, a wash-house; 3d, a house for brewing, and baking; and 4th, a stable for twelve horses: all these one story and a half high. The Mansion House was seated on a moderate eminence, made a peninsula by the Welcome creek, which was crossed by several bridges. A broad walk through an avenue of poplars led to the river, descending from the upper terrace to the lower grounds by a flight of steps. The house was surrounded with gardens and lawns; and the more distant woods were opened in vistas, looking down the river, and upwards to the Falls. These woods had been laid out in walks, at the Proprietor's first visit, and the preservation of the trees is enjoined in several of his letters. He had some thoughts "of running a pale across the neck, half way towards the south point, for the beginning of a park," but, we have no reason to think that this plan was executed. He was anxious about the rearing of cattle, and designed the neighbouring island for feeding "young cattle, and a studd of mares." But he does not seem to have had much of the knowledge of a farmer, and his chief care and solicitude are about his gardens. He sent out several gardeners, one of them a Scotchman, recommended as "a rare artist." He directs, that he shall have three men under him, and, if he cannot agree with the

old gardener Ralph, is to leave to his charge, the upper gardens, and court yards, and to take as his own province the lower grounds. The Proprietor sent out from England, walnuts, hawthorns, hazels, fruit trees, and a great variety of the rarest seeds, and roots; while in this country, (as we learn from the cash book,) he procured from Maryland, several panniers of the trees, and shrubs, indigenous in that province, and he directed, by his letters, that the most beautiful wild flowers of the woods should be transplanted into his grounds. On the whole, his directions indicate a love of nature, and elegance of taste, which are very remarkable. While we peruse the letters of William Penn, we may believe that Pennsbury was truly a delightful seat; but of its charms not one trace remains; its woods are destroyed, its lawns are corn fields, not one shrub, not one "garden flower grown wild" survives: a few English cherries, and some stumps of ornamental trees, were all that Mr. Watson could trace of the glories of the garden.*

At his manor of Springetsbury, which covered the larger part of Penn Township, he had no mansion; the villa, to the north of Bush Hill, of which we may all recollect the stables, green-house, and shrubbery, was built by his son Thomas about a century ago; but on the same estate, to the northward, a vineyard was planted by his directions, which gave its name to the estate now covered by the village of Francisville; though, according to old draughts, an eminence nearer the Schuylkill (perhaps on the site of Pratt's Garden) is denominated "Old Vineyard Hill." There he established a person skilled in the culture of the vine, whom he had sent for from France, and supported at considerable expense, having much at heart the making of wine in his province. The following are extracts from his letters on this subject: "I writ, that regard should be had to Andrew Doze about the vine-

In 1705, he writes, "If Pennsbury has cost me one penny, it has cost me above 5000*l*., and it was with an intention to settle there; though God has been pleased to order it otherwise. I should have returned to it, in 1686, or at farthest, in 1689.

yard: I know it is a charge; but if wine can be made, it will be worth the province thousands by the year; for many Frenchmen are disheartened by the Carolinians.* In seven years there would be hundreds of vineyards, if the experiment takes, and I understand by Patrick Lloyd and Dr. More, that he produced ripe grapes the 28th of the fifth month, '86, when the roots were but fifteen or sixteen months planted. 'Tis an high character of the country, and Andrew Doze, I am told, sayd he deserved the place, paying me only an acknowledgement in wine." And, in another letter, he says, "All the vines sent in this vessel are intended for Andrew on the Schuylkill for the vineyard. I could have been glad of a taste last year, as I hear he made some." Whether he long persisted in the experiment I cannot tell; it was, however, it seems probable, abandoned, at farthest, at his second visit in 1699, and is only one of many examples to prove, that, in this country, wine is not to be expected from the foreign grapes.

Thus was the mind of the Proprietor, in the midst of the tumults of parties, and the whirlwind of revolution, occupied about the advancement of agriculture, in his colony. Most of the emigrants were husbandmen, and he esteemed it their happiness. He lived a country life, and would recommend it to his children. "The country," says he, "is the philosopher's garden and library, in which he reads and contemplates the power, wisdom, and goodness of God. It is his food, as well as study, and gives him life, as well as learning." And in his parting instructions to his wife, he enjoins: "Let my children be husbandmen, and housewives; it is industrious, healthy, honest, and of good report. This leads to consider the works of God, and diverts the mind from being

* William Penn also gave the means of emigration to a respectable French Protestant, Charles De la Noue, who promised to undertake the culture of the vine. Could he have been a descendant of that model of cavaliers, that rare union of genius, honour, courage, and piety, Francois De la Noue, the Huguenot captain, more admirable in every particular than Bayard; but, perhaps, eclipsed, which the latter was not, by the more brilliant qualities of his master.

taken up with the vain arts and inventions of a luxurious world. Of cities and towns of concourse, beware. The world is apt to stick close to those who have lived, and get wealth there : a country life and estate, I love best for my children."

With such views, he, in 1703, sent to Pennsylvania his son William. During the absence of his father, this young man had been drawn into all the fashionable dissipations of the day. Distinguished as the eldest son of the Proprietor of Pennsylvania, he was sought for by the first people in London, and as his father says, "he had wit, kept the top company, pretended to much honour, was but over generous by half, and sharp enough to get to spend, and must be handled with much love and wisdom." In short, the society of coffee-houses and taverns, then the usual resort of the *Wits*,* and the fashionable saloons of London, perhaps not less corrupting, had formed in him habits, not only inconsistent with his father's principles ; but even, perhaps, debasing to him, as a gentleman. Distinguished for good nature, and a yielding temper, he could not withstand the temptations to which he was exposed ; and when our excellent Proprietor returned to England in 1702, he found his eldest son, the hope of his house, travelling rapidly the road to ruin and disgrace. How deeply he felt this, may be seen in his letters to his secretary Logan ; to whose care and guidance he committed this son, when he prevailed on him to tear himself away from his dangerous, though fascinating associations ; hoping that an honest pride of name, good example, simple and virtuous pleasures, and an interest in the affairs of the colony, he was then destined to govern, might win him back to sobriety and virtue.

* At Philadelphia, too, it was then the usage of gentlemen to meet their friends at a tavern. Business rarely occupied the afternoon, and at the White Hart Inn, the most reputable in the place, were generally to be found some of the most respectable persons of the province, with their pipes and bottle, enjoying that easy and unrestrained conversation, which they would perhaps have found nowhere else.

"Take him," says he, "immediately away to Pennsbury, and there give him the true state of things, and weigh down his levities, as well as temper his resentments, and inform his understanding, since all depends upon it, as well for his future happiness, as, in measure, the poor country's. I propose Governor Hamilton, Samuel Carpenter, Isaac Norris, young Shippen, and the best, and most civilized of others, for his conversation, and I hope Colonel Markham, and cousin Ashton, and the Fairmans may come in for a share, but the first, chiefly. Watch him, outwill him, and honestly overreach him for his good. Fishing, little journeys, (as to see the Indians, &c.) will divert him; no rambling to New York, nor mungrill correspondence. Entreat friends to bear all they can, and melt towards him, at least civilly, if not religiously; he will confide in thee. If Samuel Carpenter, Richard Hill, and Isaac Norris, could gain his confidence, and tender Griffith Owen, (not the least likely, for he feels and sees,) I should rejoice. Pennsylvania has cost me dearer in my poor child, than in all other considerations. The Lord direct his ways for his honour, his father's comfort, and his own peace; may thou have the religious authority, and persuasiveness with him, to balance against passion, levity, and too great openness. He has excelling qualities, with his lessening infirmities." And, again: "He aims to improve his study, this winter with thee, as well as to know the country, the laws and people, and his interests and mine therein; use thy utmost influence upon him, to make him happy in himself, and me in him. Pray watch over him for good; qualify his heats, inform his judgment, increase his knowledge; he has a more than ordinary opinion of thee, advise him to proper company; give him fitting hints how far to go, he being naturally too open, and prevent his quarrelling with our enemies, an advantage they may improve to our prejudice. In short, keep him inoffensively employed, at those times that he is not profitably concerned. Let the first be the country, its laws, and constitutions, and the settlement of the town, and coun-

ties; then study, with intervals, in the woods, and upon the waters. Be as much as possible with him, and let him not be at any public house after the allowed hours, nor keep any expense at Pennsbury, in entertainments, &c." But alas, his good father was in this instance, as in so many others, destined to have a cruel disappointment. James Logan devoted himself to him as his mentor; they went to Pennsbury together, the young Proprietor received the affectionate welcome of the Indians, and at Philadelphia established themselves in a good style, at Clark's great house. The principal friends of his father noticed him with kindness, letters from Philadelphia say "he is generally well received, and seldom fails of drawing love where he comes." His natural sweetness of temper, and inclination to what is good are spoken of; but the good influence he was under at first, was not lasting. Encouraged by the imprudent and dissipated Governor Evans, and a few others, he fell into his old habits, which soon becoming notorious in so small a place, brought him into disgrace and trouble. Having lost the respect of all the better parts of society here, he remained not much longer in America, but returned with mortified pride to England, where he rapidly sank each day deeper into the slough of dissipation; and having deserted his wife and friends, and imbittered the last years of reason of his excellent father, died a few years after him in France.*

William Penn was not destined to see a son grow up an honour to his name and credit to his care. His first born, Springet, died at the age of twenty, a youth of the finest genius, and most admirable virtues; the father's beautiful memorial of this son is to be found in his works. His three youngest sons were still small, when their father's intellect

* While in Pennsylvania, young William Penn, openly professed his disunion from the Society of Friends; on his return to England, to the great affliction of his father, he declared his intention of entering the army, or navy, and finally stood as a candidate for Parliament, but failed in carrying his election; all these were doubtless expedients for avoiding his creditors, who pressed him sorely, and obliged him to fly to the continent.

became clouded, and his power of instruction taken away. Whether Hannah Penn attended to his admirable directions, for the education of his elder children, I know not. Her limited means would hardly permit her to follow out his generous views, contained in the following extract: "Let their learning be liberal, spare no cost, for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved." Of the eldest and youngest, John and Richard, we know little; Thomas was bred a merchant, and had excellent business habits and talents, though he did not continue to pursue commerce. By the death and will of John, becoming Proprietor of three fourths of the province, he was chiefly occupied with its affairs, and he fulfilled his charge with good sense, liberality, and honour.

I could wish, that Clarkson had printed the whole of William Penn's "Rules for the Regulation of his Family." Though they chiefly concern the government and conduct of his servants, they would have been altogether interesting, and would have assisted me in the faint picture I have presented of his domestic life. What is, however, quoted in the *Memoirs of William Penn* is important, and, as rules of conduct, might be placed with those of his admirable *Enchiridion*. Regularity, modesty, and temperance, are simply and forcibly enjoined, and even in his industrious disposition of hours, the greatness of his mind is shown.

Family devotion commenced and ended every day. We can well imagine this patriarchal scene, where this good man, surrounded by his family and servants, offered up his daily prayers and services to God; a usage once common in the households of country gentlemen in England: I would I could believe it had many followers in modern times, and in our own country. Our churches are, indeed, crowded on the first day of the week, but pride, or the fear of the world, may carry thither the modern Pharisee. Our preachers may boldly defend the faith, and vehemently denounce the follies and pleasures of the world; but lust of power, vanity, hypocrisy, may lurk in the bosom of the Elder. Prayers may

be offered in the privacy of the closet, yet is it possible to protect them from selfishness? But, in the humble offering of a whole family, where the master and servant kneel side by side, and the world sees us not, neither pride of rank, nor vanity of attainments, nor sectarian bigotry, nor single interests can enter. Or, if in an exercise so endearing, so knitting together of hearts, any thing of selfishness enters, it is so refined and elevated, that it no longer deserves that name.

Let it be borne in mind, that three times in every day was assembled for religious duties the family of William Penn; and if there be any who have been shocked at the picture of his worldliness (if they call it so) that I have presented, I ask them only to look into their own hearts, and inquire whether they have as often even thought of their Creator in the daily revolution of the sun; to search their own memories, and see if in their life they have done half the good to their fellow creatures.

Had William Penn been only a despised and persecuted dissenter, I would not boast of his consistency. Had he always lived in ascetic seclusion, I would not praise his moderation and temperance. But, as the associate of statesmen, the counsellor of princes, the friend of the worldly and the witty, he was neither dazzled by splendour, nor seduced by pleasure; enjoying rank and influence, his heart stood the test of prosperity, as well as it sustained the trials of persecution and adversity. Concerned in affairs of state, he was guiltless of intrigue; possessed of power, he was never arbitrary; prodigal in his expenses, but only for the public good; in want of money, he was still a patriot. Such was the Founder of Pennsylvania. When we turn from his public career to his private life, his virtues offer a picture not less delightful, which I should have pride and pleasure in attempting, had I not found, in the Testimony of Reading meeting in England, a character of William Penn, so beautiful and so complete, that I could not hope to equal it; and as it is the evidence of his contemporaries and neighbours, who knew him last and best,

and has the sanction of a religious society, proverbially scrupulous in their eulogies, I will read it to you entire, and with it shall conclude.

After speaking of his death and funeral, the memorial continues:—

“He was a man of great abilities—of an excellent sweetness of disposition—quick of thought, and of ready utterance,—full of the qualifications of true discipleship, even ‘love, without dissimulation.’ As extensive in charity, as comprehensive in knowledge, and to whom malice and ingratitude were utter strangers; so ready to forgive enemies, that the ungrateful were not excepted.”

“Had not the management of his temporal affairs been attended with some deficiencies, envy itself would be to seek for matter of accusation; and even in charity, that part of his conduct may be attributed to a peculiar sublimity of mind; notwithstanding which, he may, without straining his character, be ranked among the learned, the good, and the great; whose abilities are sufficiently manifested throughout his laborious writings, which are so many lasting monuments of his admired qualifications, and are the esteem of learned and judicious men among all persuasions.”

“And although, in old age, by reason of some shocks of a violent distemper, his intellects were much impaired; yet his sweetness and loving disposition surmounted its utmost efforts, and remained, when reason almost failed.”

“In fine—he was learned, without vanity—apt, without forwardness—facetious in conversation, yet weighty and serious—of an extraordinary greatness of mind, yet void of the stain of ambition—as free from rigid gravity, as he was clear of unseemly levity—a man—a scholar—a friend—a minister, surpassing in speculative endowments—whose memorial will be valued with the wise, and blessed with the just.”

APPENDIX.

If the particulars dwelt on in the preceding pages, *now* appear trivial and of no interest, they will, at least, if preserved in the Transactions of the Historical Society, grow into importance, as the period and manners they illustrate shall, in the progress of time, become more distantly removed; and when William Penn and his followers shall be considered as ancient as Columbus and his companions are by *our* generation, we shall, perhaps, be thanked by our successors for handing down to them a description of his dress and a record of his expenses.

With this view I add, as an appendix, the following additional excerpts from the cash book.

The whole expenses of William Penn from November, 1699, to the same month in 1701, amounted to £2,049, Pennsylvania currency.

The servants of William Penn, named in the cash book, are Mary Lofty, housekeeper; Ann Nichols, cook; John Sotcher, steward at Pennsbury; Hugh Sharp, gardener; Robert Beekham, man servant; Dorothy Mullars, a German maid, and Dorcas, a *negrine*. These do not appear to have been the whole of the establishment. There were evidently no slaves at Pennsbury, contemporary with the cash book, except such as were hired of their masters for a limited period.

The following list of prices will give some idea of the relative expenses of the times. It consists of extracts from the cash book, beginning in November, 1699.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Coal per ton, . . .	2			A deer,		15	4
Wood for 10 cords, . .	4	1	6	Cocoa nuts for 20			
Cheese per pound, . .			6	pounds,	2	10	
Cider per barrel, . .	1	10		Sherry wine per do-			
Lime, for 6 bushels, .		11		zen,	2		
Oil per barrel, . . .	2	5		Canary wine per do-			
A barrel of olives, . .		10		zen,	2	14	
Molasses, 1 hhd. at				A barrel of gunpow-			
per gallon,		3	4	der,	15		
Oats per bushel, . .		2		A horse bought of			
Load of hay,		9		J. Janney,	15		
Cranberries per bu-				A boat for the plan-			
shel,		2		tation,	5	10	
Sugar per pound, . .			12	Cook's wages for a			
Candles 3 1-2 do-				year,	9		
zen,	2	9	8	Wire cage with a			
Candles 70 pounds				cistern,		13	
wt. from Boston, . .	3	10		Six chairs,	2	2	
Pr. of leather stock-				Six cushions to			
ings,	3	2		Claus Berents, . .	3		
Pr. of stockings for				A chest of drawers,*	7		
Governor Penn, . .		8		Coat for a labouring			
Pr. for a servant, . .		1	8	man,		15	
For dressing the Go-				A farrier at New			
vernors hat,		1	8	Castle for cure of			
Ton of flour,	17			a horse,		6	
A quarter of beef				A lawyer's fee to T.			
146lb. per pound, . .			4½	Clark,	3	16	8
A hog,	1			A painted skin, . .		12	

A labouring man's hire varied from 2s. 6d. to 4s. per diem.

To judge of these prices, it is important to know what was the provincial currency, and this I cannot exactly ascertain; but the guinea of gold usually sold for £1. 13s.; though sometimes for 32s. The pound sterling is in one place estimated at 30s. currency. The English crown at 8s.; while the dollar varied from 6s. to 6s. 2d.; and the piece of 8, from 7s. 4d. to 7s. 8d.

* A wedding present from Lætitia to Mary Lofty, the housekeeper, on her marriage to John Botcher.

MEMOIR

OF

THOMAS C. JAMES, M. D.,

ONE OF THE

VICE PRESIDENTS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BY JOB R. TYSON.

**READ AT AN ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, ON THE 1ST
OF FEBRUARY, 1836.**

VOL. III.

14

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT A MEETING OF THE COUNCIL, HELD JULY 15TH, 1835.

"Resolved, That the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, learn, with the deepest regret, the death of their venerable Vice President, *Dr. THOMAS C. JAMES*, a gentleman whose urbanity, literary acquirements, and eminent talents, had gained him the esteem and friendship of his associates; and whose memory will long be cherished by those who had the happiness of meeting him in this hall.

"Resolved, That *Job R. Tyson*, Esq., be requested to prepare a Biographical Memoir of Dr. James, which may illustrate his personal and literary character, to be printed in the next half-volume of this Society's transactions.

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the family of the deceased, with the assurance of the hearty condolence of the Council in this afflicting dispensation of Providence."

MEMOIR OF

THOMAS C. JAMES.

THOMAS C. JAMES was descended from a respectable English family. He was the youngest son of Abel James, an eminent merchant of Philadelphia, and was born, in this city, on the 31st day of August, 1766. His maternal grandfather was the pious and well-known Quaker writer, Thomas Chalkley. Born of Quaker parents, he received the early part of his literary training in the seminaries of Friends. His classical instructor was Robert Proud, the historian. Having finished those branches of learning which he could derive from the Quaker schools of the time, we may presume, from the solidity and extent of his attainments in after life, that he diligently prosecuted his studies in private, either unassisted, or with the aid of a tutor.

Upon terminating his literary preparation, which was comprehensive and exact, he commenced the study of medicine under the direction of the respected and eminent Dr. Adam Kuhn. His diploma, as Doctor of Medicine, was conferred by the University of Pennsylvania, in the year 1787.

It was not unusual in the early stage of professional life, for the young physician to seek, in the maritime service, the practical benefits of a surgeon. Dr. James proposed to himself ulterior and higher aims than the station itself. He sought

the pecuniary ability to complete his studies, as a physician, in Europe. Through the influence of his friends, and his own merits, he obtained the desired situation, and embarked in the ship *Sampson*, bound to the Cape of Good Hope and China, in the autumn of 1788. His character for medical skill, mildness of manner, and great placidity of temper, was established, during this voyage, in the opinion of his worthy messmates.

He kept a Journal of his voyage, which is replete with evidence of the activity of his mind, and the felicity of a style, then only in the process of formation. Many passages of moral reflection and playful allusion occur in this Journal. I quote the following as an example of the former: "Whilst I was writing the preceding sentence, an unfortunate being, tired of confinement on ship-board, and panting for enlargement, rashly leaped overboard, and while moulting on the distant billows, exulted with a mistaken joy. As it disappeared from sight, at the cabin window, I could not help feeling an emotion of pity at the idea of the suffering it must undergo, when deprived of food, till death, either in *propria persona*, or by his messenger, a shark, serves his capias upon him. A mind inclined to moralize might draw a parallel between this foolish creature, and many an unthinking mortal, who, tired of protecting care and authority, breaks through the bands of prudence, and launches on the wide ocean of life with nothing to direct his course but the winds and waves of irrational prejudices and boisterous passions.

"In stress of weather most, some sink outright
O'er them and o'er their names the billows close.
To-morrow knows not they were ever born."—YOUNG.

Be not alarmed, friend L——, the subject of this moralizing was not a man nor a boy, but — a goose!"

During a long passage at sea, the mind is thrown upon its own resources. Its fertility or barrenness, its vacancy or

fulness, can be easily detected. The monotony of the scene, grand as it frequently is, the absence of incident to awaken reflection, and the enervating sickness which is the certain concomitant of all, try at once the mind and the temper. Dr. James, refers to these distresses in the following happy manner: "Had I the mental powers of Sterne, I could fill up in sentiment the deficiency of transaction, but, to original geniuses only is it assigned to strike out hints, where there is no variety of object to exercise and expand the mind. The faculties become torpid, from the want of excitement from external circumstances. I recollect to have heard or read of a German philosopher, who, by shutting himself up in a room from which every ray of light was excluded, for the purpose of indulging in intense reflection, brought on a deep sleep, which terminated in death." This Journal contains the events of his absence; but as the Society have in view, rather an elucidation of the personal and literary character of their deceased Vice President, than an extended biography, I pass rapidly over this interesting period of his life. He made his travels auxiliary to improvement, especially in botany. At the Cape of Good Hope, he devoted himself to that study with great assiduity. He returned home in the year 1789.

The primary object of this unalluring voyage, was not forgotten. Dr. James went to Edinburgh in the autumn of 1790, then the great attraction of medical students. Under the tuition of the celebrated Hunter, Home, Baillie, Gregory, and others of scarcely inferior note, he laid the foundation of his subsequent repute as a physician. He availed himself of the opportunity of visiting London, and other parts of England, as well as different parts of Ireland. From the high estimation of his grandfather, Thomas Chalkley, and his own mental and personal qualities, he soon found easy admission into the good society of the places which he visited. He remained in Europe two years, which he spent, in the intervals

of his professional labour, in accumulating rare and elegant knowledge. He returned to Philadelphia in the summer of 1793, learned as a physician, deeply read as a scholar, and accomplished by foreign travel. It was under no disadvantage, therefore, that he entered the medical lists as a practitioner, with such men as Rush, Wistar, and Physick.

The year of his return from Europe, is signalized by the prevalence, in Philadelphia, of a most desolating scourge. The yellow fever of '93 is vividly remembered by all who were then living, and is matter of impressive history with the generations that have succeeded. The lamentable effects of this pestilence are portrayed and immortalized, in the pages of our ingenious countryman, the late Charles Brockden Brown, in his tale called *Arthur Merwyn*. The disease not appearing in all its malignity until autumn, Dr. James was in time to witness its fell and undistinguishing ravages. That acute sensibility with which he was endowed by nature, and which was rather increased than subdued by his occasional studies, did not prevent him from mingling in scenes of disease and death, which, even to a less susceptible mind, would have been agonizing in the extreme. He was the minister of consolation, the messenger of relief, wherever he went.

It is in seasons of pestilence, and often amid the wreck of earthly happiness, that the physician is called upon to exert with calmness and philosophy, the utmost efforts of his learning, ingenuity and skill. It was with a heart, we may well suppose, throbbing in sympathy with the sufferers, while his understanding was intensely exercised for the mitigation of their sufferings, that Dr. James performed in this scene of affliction his professional duty. With his illustrious contemporaries, Rush and Wistar, he went about doing good. But, in common with them, he had to mourn the destructive influences of a disease, which, with all their exertions, but too frequently triumphed over the utmost efforts of their art. Upon the return of the same distemper in 1798, the medical profession of Philadel-

phia were able to combat, perhaps with more success, many of the difficulties which had presented at its first appearance.

The period which elapsed between the return of Dr. James from Europe in 1793 and the year 1811, was employed in earnest application to medical science and general literature. He filled up this interval with constant and laborious research, snatched from a respectable and growing practice. His common-place books, which are numerous, bear testimony to his extensive and erudite reading, out of the line of his profession. He occasionally wrote for the periodicals of the day, and his essays were always marked by refinement of thought and elegant simplicity of expression.

It is much to be regretted, that a modesty which prevented him from avowing his contributions, must ever conceal from our knowledge, the most beautiful productions of his pen. That graceful and finished style which we meet with in the few prose compositions, before the public, which are known to be his, and in his lectures, could only be the effect of long and frequent practice.

In the earlier part of his life he indulged much in the composition of poetry, for which he was eminently fitted by a just taste, a fine fancy, and much true poetic feeling. Many of his original verses are lost, but of these fragments remarkable for tender beauty or sprightliness, linger upon the memories of his friends. His "Country Meeting," "The Glow Worm," "The Eagle of Freedom," and his versified translations of the Idyls of Gessner, are entitled to much, and some to high praise for poetical merit. The translations are to be found in the Port Folio, under the signature of P. D., in the year 1801. These translations have survived the desire which the Doctor seemed to cherish, of burying all the fruits of his pen in oblivion. The singular merit of these versifications, and the fewness of German scholars in Philadelphia, who could invest the tender German in an appropriate English

dress, were enough to point out the author beyond the possibility of prevention. The low estimate which his severe taste induced him to put upon his own literary essays, may be seen from the following lines, addressed to the editor of the above mentioned magazine. They accompanied his delicate and polished version of Damon and Daphne, one of the Idyls of Gessner. It would appear that the editor had been, for some time, neglected by his gifted correspondent.

“MR. OLDSHOOB:—If you permit a truant to peep into your literary seminary, he will venture to present you the enclosed hastily written lines, as a peace-offering; but shall not be irritated, if you should convert them into a *burnt-offering*, as a just punishment for time misspent.” All these happy versifications were headed, with characteristic modesty, “*Attempted from Gessner.*”

Among the versifications of this date, I must not omit to mention one which was undertaken at the request of the editor. It is a beautiful sonnet translated into prose from the Irish, which the Doctor turned into metre with considerable felicity.

The court which he paid to the Muses, by writing, was not *devoted* in after years. But his poetical sensibility never forsook him. It was an element of his moral constitution. He recurred to good poetry, both ancient and modern, through life. He relished, with much keenness, those charming effusions of superior genius which combine pleasure with instruction. Truth could not, he believed, be too attractively attired; and whether exhibited, in profound and grave disquisitions, or presented in the more alluring garb of elegant verse, he was its devoted worshipper. To the poetical mind, it is not sufficient that verse be square with the principles of art, that it invade no ancient canon. It must do more. It must touch the poetical *sensibility*, a faculty as distinct by nature, and as capable of cultivation, as the ear for music or the

eye for the picturesque in nature.* A poem, to please the temperament of Dr. James, must possess the indefinable secret of poetry, at the same time that it must be free from literary defect, as a specimen of art. But in regard to *writing* verse, though he indulged his vein occasionally, at the bidding of some incident which called forth his feelings, he wrote only for his private amusement. He did not give, and could not consent to give, his original stanzas to the world. Like most young men of good parts and education, he had produced verses during the period of nonage, but unlike many, though his verses were far beyond mediocrity, he abandoned the practice in the maturity of his understanding. He felt that the character of a virtuous man, a learned physician, an able and conscientious professor, was quite as elevated and honourable as that of the fugitive poet. If nature had designed him for the higher walks of poetry, and bestowed upon him in their full amplitude, those rare faculties of invention and imagination, which fall to the lot of a single man in a whole age, he should not have slighted those gifts. She had given him, instead of these, a correct taste, a discriminating judgment, and various talents, which, as they might be rendered subservient to the general good of society, it would be little less than criminal to neglect.

Of the numerous versifiers who have written no extended poem, but few, in modern times, will long continue to be read. Burns is a striking instance of rare merit in a poet, whose pieces may be said to appertain exclusively to the fugitive class.

* I have lately met with a similar sentiment in the character of Dr. Johnson, by Sir James Mackintosh. The passage is quoted, less with a view to escape a very obvious imputation, than to confirm, by such respectable authority, the doctrine advanced. "The beauties of poetry," says Mackintosh, "must be *felt* before their causes are investigated. There is a poetical sensibility, which, in the progress of the mind, becomes as distinct a faculty as a musical ear or a picturesque eye."

They will probably survive so long as the language is understood in which they are written. But they only who can write like Burns, can plead the authority of his example. Others of the minor poets, addicted themselves to a given department. Hammond wrote elegies, which are beautiful imitations of Tibullus, Watts composed lyrics, and Beranger national songs. The merit of Watts and the exquisiteness of Beranger are well known. These and perhaps a few other writers, furnish exceptions to a rule, which, from the numbers who combine to form it, seems to have its foundation deeply laid in nature.

I should be wanting to my subject, if I did not seize so good and strong an example as that furnished by the life of Dr. James, to impress the importance of its imitation. If he had persevered as a writer of verse, he might indeed have been deservedly admired for his stanzas. But he might have omitted to cultivate those more useful, and perhaps higher qualities of the mind, which gave him such merited distinction in life, and now, united to the endearing qualities of his heart, render his name so precious to his surviving friends. It is worth, thus useful, virtuous, and true, that Cowper commemorates in these touching lines :

“ Such friends are not forgot as soon as cold ;
 Their fragrant memory shall outlive the tomb,
 Embalmed for ever in its own perfume.”

After the year 1801, though we find in his unpublished MSS. much evidence of an abiding taste for poetry, and of continued ability to produce it, it is not known that he gave even a translation in metre to the world. His studies, though never out of the wide track of solid and elegant literature, was much in coincidence with the range of professional inquiry.

As an extensive practitioner, and, at this time, the physician of the Welsh Society, his active labours were unavoida-

bly great. The benevolence with which, in the latter station, he attended the Hospital on the river Schuylkill, is beyond all praise. This infirmary was established for the sick and dying emigrants from Wales, during the prevalence among them of a fatal disease. His patients, though in extreme poverty, and bearing about them a malignant disorder, found in Dr. James the intrepid attendant, who, in their ills, forgot his own danger, the judicious medical counsellor, the kind and sympathizing friend. In a situation so uninviting, one from which he could derive little emolument or fame, he is remembered by his friends to have displayed a devotion and solicitude which could spring only from a heart overflowing with the best affections of humanity. It was in acts of philanthropy concealed from the world that the Doctor delighted, and exercised towards objects, too obscure for public sympathy. For many years he trod this noble path without the importance of station, or the distinction of place or dignity. He was satisfied with the possession of uncommon attainments, for their own sake, and of doing good in secret, for the improvement and benefit of others.

But talents and learning, dispositions and virtues such as his, could not always remain in concealment. In the year 1811, they received an appropriate reward, by his promotion to the professorship of Midwifery, in the University of Pennsylvania.

From his election to the chair of professorship, all the resources of his gifted, polished, and well-stored mind were lent to its high duties. The necessity of an enlarged and judicious attention to these, did not interfere with an extensive and laborious practice, nor with various other engagements. He took an active part in several benevolent institutions which sprang up from time to time. Among these may be enumerated the Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, the Union Benevolent Society, and the Society for the Suppression of Lotteries. He presided over each of these institutions for seven

ral years. It is hardly necessary to observe, that he greatly contributed by his countenance and active aid, to the benefits which they were the means of conferring. In addition to these, he was a member of the American Philosophical Society, the Wistar Club, the Society for the Commemoration of the Landing of William Penn, and was one of those who associated to form the present Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

As he took great pleasure in delving into the antiquities of Pennsylvania, the formation of a body to investigate and unfold them, gave him an opportunity to indulge in a favourite pursuit. He regularly attended its meetings, and evinced much interest in its transactions. He largely participated in the honest pride, which, as Pennsylvanians, we all feel in the character of the Founder, the virtue of his honoured companions, and the principles of the early colonial policy. This feeling was deep and ardent. It led him to contemplate with a respect approaching to veneration, all those little relics of that primitive age which have been preserved and transmitted by the pious care of successive owners. This zeal in the collection of *antiques*, had not in view the gratification of an idle curiosity. It had a better and nobler aim. He viewed these remnants of the past, as part of the authentic materials of our future story.

The colony of Pennsylvania had never, in his opinion, been justly and adequately depicted. While various chroniclers, essayists, and pamphleteers have cast upon her fair escutcheon the most accumulated odium, we have been too inactive to remove them. The sectarian prejudices of a former day, are still observable in the writings of the present. One great object of the Society, he believed, should of necessity be, to correct mistakes and misconceptions, while correction is possible; since, if not rectified, they will pass as admitted and unquestioned truth into the page of history. Dr. James was satisfied with suggesting hints and pointing out misrepresentations in private.

He was averse to controversy, and declined it, even in defence of a favourite subject.

He contributed a single article to our Transactions. Its subject relates to the original discovery of that important mineral to Pennsylvania, the anthracite coal. It may be mentioned that he greatly contributed to the introduction of this mineral into use, as a fuel, and, perhaps, preceded, in its adoption, all others in Philadelphia.*

Amid these multifarious concerns, he found leisure to keep pace with the rapid emissions of the medical press, to edit for some years a medical journal, to annotate a medical text-book, to cultivate several foreign languages, and to read in English much of the polite literature of the day. In addition to all, he undertook a regular course of theological investigations. The books upon theology, which he selected, were not of the common order. They lay far beyond the reach of the ordinary devourers of what is called, religious reading. He did not seek in them any aid to the perception of right and wrong, for the grounds of virtue and error could not be mistaken. He sought in them, in conjunction with Scripture, the means of knowing upon what basis his future hopes depended, and through what means and whose instrumentality they were to be accomplished.

With such studies he filled those interstices of time which occur in the busiest life. It was matter of surprise to the acquaintances of Dr. James, how, with his deep medical learning, and his frequent professional avocations, he had been able, through life, to pursue a course of systematic and extensive reading upon other subjects. This apparent problem has an easy solution. It was his habit to assign to each moment its appropriate task. He filled each gap, he seized each interval which accident presented; and even at the bed-side of

* The Memoir states, that he commenced its use, as a fuel, in the year 1804. See Memoirs, vol. ii., part 1st, page 154.

his patient, he embraced every proper opportunity of study. This was his custom as long as his health permitted. He was alike diligent in the prosecution of general knowledge, and in the arduous drudgery of professional business. His mind thus became the repository of all that was elegant, valuable, and profound.

Full of honours, and accumulating them as he advanced in years, but retaining those native graces of modesty and benevolence which at first secured the affection of all who approached him, he glided down the stream of life, without an impediment to check, or an unfriendly ripple to disturb its smooth and gentle current. A disease of a nervous character, to which Dr. James was perhaps constitutionally disposed, at length arrested his ability for active employment. He combatted this complaint for several years, but at last yielded to the necessity it imposed, of relinquishing his practice and retiring from the Medical Chair.

His resignation was heard with profound regret by the Medical Faculty, who, on the occasion, expressed, in a series of resolutions, their sense of the important services which he had conferred upon their institution. Having thus given up the cares of a high station, and the anxieties and labours of professional life, he calmly waited for the arrival of that hour, which, he foresaw, would soon separate him from the world. He survived the period of his resignation about a year, and expired with Christian composure, on the 5th of July, 1835, in the 69th year of his age.

The character of Dr. James can be very imperfectly understood from so meager a narrative. "The life of a scholar," says Goldsmith, "seldom abounds with adventure." The annals of a *physician*, it may be added, include only the incidents of his practice. Though the duties of the latter lead him from the closet, his best exploits are as effectually concealed from the public gaze, as if performed in the recesses of its solitude. The retiring nature of Dr. James shrunk from

publicity with an intuitive revulsion. Those actions which might be the subject of commentary or praise, were locked for ever in the privacy of his own breast. He seemed to take the utmost pains to shroud from recognition, his great attainments and intellectual eminence. He appeared, so to speak, studiously to curtail the full proportions of the stature of his mind, and to check or subdue its instinctive manifestations. Far from revealing or exhibiting himself to the superficial eye, he hid himself from its inspection.

With less desire to avoid observation, he would have passed unobserved in the crowd. His mind, though active and contemplative, was associated with a disposition unobtrusive in the extreme.

The same timidity followed him in his writings. His severe taste trimmed every expression, and softened every metaphor, with an unsparing fidelity to classic models. All was beautiful, correct, and polished. It was the beauty and polish of an elaborate simplicity.

The taste which sometimes presides over literary performances, is that pruning knife which cuts off flowers as well as weeds. In this case, it was the gardener who smoothed each bold asperity, levelled each swelling prominence, and directed, in a given course, the devious and headlong streams. To appreciate as we ought, the high finish of an artificial landscape, we require to know the natural barrenness of the expanse before us. When the hand of art has been busy in impairing original beauty and fertility, we observe only to lament it. It is true, we are pleased with a green plain, studded with minute elegancies, which do not open upon a first view, and must be approached nearly to be admired. But we are entranced and delighted with splendid irregularities of surface, united to native richness of soil where the culture has only unfolded new objects of admiration, in co-operating with the genius of the region.

To drop the simile, it cannot be doubted that the singular

delicacy of Dr. James's taste, combined with his shrinking and diffident spirit, curbed the native force of his intellect. It is the fate of such men, as it proved to be that of Dr. James, not to be justly appreciated by the mass. He whose diffidence represses excellence from the fear of boldness, and whose taste demands forms of perfect outline and faultless symmetry, will be less striking as a man of genius, than powers of an inferior grade, which unite greater courage with less elegance of cultivation. The untaught eye is charmed with the gay ornaments of the Corinthian order; it views with indifference the chaste simplicity of the Grecian model.

It required the intimacy of a long acquaintance with Dr. James, to see in their full development, the vigour of his understanding, and the extent and variety of his learning. Except among his friends, the modesty of his personal character interfered with a just estimate of his endowments.

An aversion to *literary* display is sometimes met with in persons, who, without scruple, will refer to any other act to which ostentation might as well be ascribed, or the knowledge of which would as probably confer distinction. The architect is seldom reluctant to speak of the edifice erected by his art, and the painter his picture; and yet each may be alarmingly maidenish and coy in regard to the publicity of his literary efforts. Upon what principle are vanity and egotism implied in one case, more than in the others? Intellectual superiority is by no means asserted in mere essays at authorship. There is no province of the mind which admits of greater mental diversity, and few perhaps in which meaner talents have actually been applied or exerted. But these inconsistencies did not meet in Dr. James. He was equally distrustful of himself in every important action of his life. He made proclamation of himself in no department whatever.

This mingling of personal diffidence with mental delicacy

was no doubt partly owing to constitution. It was partly the result of perceptions too elevated for the ordinary standard of human execution. He cherished, in his own mind, a *beau idéal* of excellence, which he saw clearly, and felt his incompetency to attain. In proportion as he advanced in knowledge, this trait became more perceptible. It has been somewhere well observed, that the stalks of corn whose tops are empty, stand erect and peer above their fellows; while those which are laden with the rich fruits of summer, bend their heads in humility. Superior merit, it is certain, is conscious of imperfections, to which, mental inferiority is a stranger.

The social dispositions of our lamented Vice President, I need hardly remind the members, were of the most pleasing description. In the circle of his friends, he was found to teem with the most agreeable anecdote. He related it with a cheerfulness and ease which conveyed the utmost delight. There was a charm in his conversation, which, all who knew him well, cannot cease to remember. It was characterized by the unconstrained freedom and simplicity of his nature. It was amusing, instructive, and without parade. He sought no opportunities of display, and never accepted those which offered. If allured by the easy and familiar bearing of Dr. James, the sciolist would rashly launch beyond his depth, he quickly detected in the good-natured remark or intelligent look of his companion, that the little bark of his reputation was in a sea of imminent peril. Abundant in literary lore, he exhibited no pedantry except in the estimation of those to whom all literary knowledge is pedantic. * Without the occasional moroseness ascribed to Addison, his colloquial talents, in variety, in the power of pleasing without an apparent effort to do so, in grace of thought and elegant simplicity of expression, he nearly resembled him.

A disciple of the old school of manners, he was refined, simple, and gentlemanly. He belonged to a class of men that

is rapidly passing away. Those of that school who survive, are the precious monuments of a former age, and may be considered as the links which connect us with it.

His literary preferences partook of his fondness for the plain, chaste and natural. Among the ancient writers, he habitually read Virgil and Pliny in the Latin; Hesiod, Thucydides and the Idyls of Theocritus in the Greek. He admired portions of Homer, Juvenal and Horace, but he entertained no strong partiality for either. In the German, he read often and with most pleasure, the pages of Gessner and Schiller. He admired little of the polite literature of France, save Fenelon, whom he regarded as a poet, and De Lille. The splendid page of Massillon he devoured. Of English poets, Shakspeare, Milton, Pope, Goldsmith, and Cowper were his decided favourites; and among the prose writers, Addison and Sir William Temple. He doubtless borrowed much of his own ease and grace from the volumes of Addison, whom he pored over with an enthusiasm which can be referred only to a deep sympathy with his tone, spirit and style. Of the poets of the present day, he gave the highest praise to Campbell, though he slyly but intensely admired Wordsworth for unaffected beauty and nature. When the current of popular taste was running in opposition to the gentleness and quiet of Wordsworth, Dr. James, in reply to the playful allusion of his friends to his partiality for the poet, would sometimes seriously, sometimes jestingly remark, that a time would yet come when the felicity and powers of Wordsworth, would be appreciated and acknowledged. Judging from the present tenor of the British periodicals, that time, at least in England, is fast approaching, if not already arrived.

The opinions of a man who searched so deeply and thought so justly as Dr. James, deserve to be recorded. He was one of the earliest of the disciples of Jenner in this country. When the doctrines of that benefactor of the human race were first announced, they met with an opposition which nothing could

resist but the force of long and successful experiment. They found in Dr. James an early, constant, firm, and able defender. —In regard to medical education, which, for many years, he so creditably superintended, he entertained the most elevated views. He thought that the primary training of the candidate, should have been cultivated with care, and that if this were defective, he should be deemed unworthy to enter a learned profession. The necessity of Latin theses from the candidates, would have been congenial with the Doctor's sentiments. He firmly believed that such a requisition would exclude unworthy members from the medical ranks, and contribute, in no small degree, to exalt the aims of our literary seats of learning. It cannot be denied that if all our medical schools were to unite in the adoption of such a rule, nothing would be lost to society, nothing to the cause of sound learning, nothing to the literary renown of the country. But the time had not arrived when a theme in Latin could with propriety be demanded. He contented himself, therefore, with a compromise of his sentiments. If a thesis in English were admitted, he thought it ought to be executed with some pretension to literary correctness, and its composition should be the unaided performance of the candidate himself.

Both these requisitions may exist with equal strictness in each of the medical colleges of Philadelphia, and, perhaps, throughout the country. But an undeviating adherence to them in practice, is required by all those patriotic and benevolent motives, which can actuate men impressed with the solemn obligations, which, as the guardians of science, they owe to humanity.

The subject of this Memoir was free from the insidious influences to which, according to Sir James Mackintosh, the medical man is peculiarly exposed. In the language of this philosophical writer; "Those who frequently contemplate the entire subjection of every part of the animal frame to the laws of chemistry, and the numerous processes through which

all the organs of the human body must pass, after death, acquire habits of imagination unfavourable to a hope of an independent existence of the thinking principle, or of the renewed existence of the whole man. Hence arises, in part, the prevalent incredulity of physicians." He was a firm believer in the immortality of the soul, and the truths of revealed religion. His sentiments upon these were in accordance with the religious body of which he lived and died a member. Though firm in his faith, he was not a bigot, and though fraternized with a sect, he was free from intolerance. A difference in religious sentiment, furnished no reason to a mind like his, imbued and softened by the charities of the Christian scheme, to confine his esteem and intimacy to the narrow limits of any sect or party. His affections were true to the great and distinguishing principles of Christianity. —They were genial and comprehensive, not hemmed in by sectarian divisions, not chilled by sectarian prejudices. It is an emanation of the purified nature itself which beams forth, with characteristic beauty and eloquence, in this resolve which is copied from the beginning of one of his commonplace-books: "Endeavour to acquire a temper of universal candour and benevolence; and learn neither to condemn nor despise any persons on account of their particular modes of faith and worship; *remembering, always, that goodness is confined to no party; that there are wise and worthy men among all the sects of Christians*, and that to his own master everyone must stand or fall."

This amiable and Catholic spirit was the constant inmate of his breast. His own convictions of truth never allowed him to deny the merits of those whose convictions happened to be different. Though his opinions were the result of learned research and conscientious inquiry, he did not cease to examine new performances as they appeared, upon mooted questions of divinity. The numerous "Reading Memoranda" which he has left, contain much evidence of this. At one

time he prepared a faithful analysis of Dr. Chauncey's work on the doctrine of universal restoration. At another, he copied the Articles of the Reformed Christian Church, (Unitarian,) established in 1815, in Oneida county, New York: So late as the year 1829, he transcribed with his own hand, from a theological print, an article of some extent, called "The Unitarian's Appeal." He never omitted, however, to note at the end of such extracts or compendiums, his dissent from the doctrines asserted. He was superior to those apprehensions which are sometimes entertained, of being injured in our faith by an examination of the grounds of our religion. But it must be remembered that he examined too thoroughly to be imposed upon by specious reasoning, or embarrassed by the sophistic and plausible.

The private and unpublished manuscripts of Dr. James, contain abundant proof of the results of his theological investigations, and of the fervour of his devotional piety. Instead of quoting from these, it will be sufficient to cite the introductory paragraph to his last *Will*, which, as it is usually the most solemn act of a man's life, may be regarded as a true register of his faith and opinions. When sentiments of religious creed are to be found in such an instrument, they are to be deemed a legacy of the most precious nature, transmitted not for the exclusive benefit of any, but as a bequest to all mankind. This Will was written with his own hand, and bears date the 14th of Seventh Month, (July,) 1827.

After alluding to the condition of his health, and the uncertainty of human life, he thus continues: "I resign my soul into the hands of its Creator, having a firm reliance in the truths and promises of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, and trusting solely in his propitiation and mediation for the pardon of my transgressions, and not in any degree in my own merits, the insignificance of which, I hope, I am properly sensible of." He repeated in audible accents, and with unusual emphasis, the same sentiments of humble dependence and pi-

ous resignation a few moments before his calm and peaceful close.

Such was our deceased Vice President; ingenious, learned, benevolent, and pious. We shall long feel the void which his death has occasioned; and long after the grass shall have sprung up in gay profusion over his grave, we shall cherish, in fond recollection, the bland endearments of his manners, and the grateful conviction of his superior virtues.

APPENDIX

TO THE MEMOIR OF DR. JAMES.

READ AT A MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, MAY 2, 1836.

To the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

SINCE the last Meeting of the Society, when, in obedience to a previous resolution of the Council, I read a Memoir of Dr. James, I have received several letters from some of his old and intimate friends. I beg to lay two of these testimonies to the virtues of our deceased Vice President, before the Society, with the request that they will order them to be published as an Appendix to the Memoir. They supply some facts which I did not possess, when the Memoir was written; and serve to elucidate several interesting features of his life. They are presented in the order of dates.

Respectfully,

J. R. TYSON.

27 April, 1836.

Philadelphia, 3 mo. 31st, 1836.

RESPECTED FRIEND,

In compliance with thy request, I send thee a few observations, on the character of my departed friend Dr. James. If thou art of opinion, that they can serve any useful purpose, they are placed at thy disposal.

From thy Friend,

TO JOSEPH R. TYSON.

JOS. PARRISH.

I became intimately acquainted with Dr. Thos. C. James at an early period of my medical life. I attended his first course of private Lectures on Obstetrics, which he delivered in connexion with his friend, Dr. John Church, long since deceased.

Soon after I commenced practice, I opened an office in his neighbourhood. Although he was considerably older than myself, yet the urbanity of his manners, and the confidence he reposed in me, could not fail to secure my esteem, and laid the foundation, of a lasting friendship.

It required an intimate acquaintance with Dr. James to understand his real character. Such was his diffidence, his unpretending claims to mental, and professional distinction, that a transient observer might conclude, he was a kind of milk and water character, designed to glide quietly down the stream of time, and, unobserved, to pass into oblivion.

But when his intellect was scanned, it was found to be of no common order. His talents were solid, his industry great, his attainments of a superior character, and his taste refined. By close study, accurate observation, and extensive travel, he acquired a large share of medical knowledge, and brought it to bear, most usefully in practice, especially in one department of the Profession. As a man of general reading, and as a classical scholar, he stood conspicuously among those to whom he was intimately known.

His modest and retiring disposition, was indulged almost to a fault; his feelings were extremely acute, and his sense of propriety uncommonly keen. His opinions in consultation were expressed with unaffected diffidence, and few men could bring a greater

weight of medical authority, to sustain them. As a lecturer, he was clear and unostentatious—his instructions partook more of solidity than brilliancy. As a writer, he held an excellent pen.

As he verged towards the close of his useful life, and bodily infirmities caused him to retire from the active pursuits of a most arduous profession, his fondness for reading, served, doubtless, to comfort him through many a lonely hour. He calmly surveyed the gradual approaches of death, and sat quietly waiting for his change.

After this period, I had an opportunity of witnessing his desire to leave the world in peace with all men: it grew out of a request made by a highly respectable member of the Profession, who considered himself aggrieved by an act of the Trustees of the University;—and desired some explanations from Dr. James, who had been one of the Professors. The interview was granted, accompanied with a special request from Dr. J that I should be present with them. This was readily admitted, and, as their mutual friend, I witnessed their separation from each other in the spirit of peace and brotherly kindness.

In one of my last conversations, with my departed friend, when alluding to our long intimacy, I rejoiced when he bore testimony to the affectionate interest, which he had always entertained for me.

Such was my friend Dr. Thomas C. James, and although there was a period, when a light cloud had nearly passed between us, arising out of some peculiar circumstances, connected with our Religious Society;—yet, as the survivor, it is to me a most consoling reflection, that the cloud was entirely dissipated, by warm and gentle rays, emanating from long tried friendship, which was not to be broken, by a firm, yet conscientious difference of opinion.

These rays reilluminated the path, and we walked harmoniously together until his prepared spirit was disrobed of its earthly mantle, and was permitted to enter into its final rest.

Highlands, Georgetown, D. C. April 1st, 1836.

MY DEAR SIR—

Your inquiry relative to our late lamented friend, Dr. James, cannot be answered by citing any particular bright spots, or illuminated points, in a character where all was luminous. The song you allude to, consisted of but a few stanzas. It was an effusion of patriotic plesantry, written on, or immediately before the march of the volunteers, called McPherson's Blues, from Philadelphia, on the occasion of the Western Insurrection. A much earlier effusion of his muse, was The Country Meeting; it is a good evidence of his chaste, pure mind, and descriptive poetic talent.

He was mainly instrumental in recommending and introducing, with the aid of a few friends, to the knowledge of his fellow citizens, the use of the Anthracite Coal, and perhaps the first, certainly the earliest specimens of it, were sent by him, and them, from their native mines to Philadelphia, by the waters of the Lehigh; on which, at Lausanne, was also made by them, the first great depot for that article, and for wheat, &c. and the first connexion with the western waters by a turnpike road thence to Berwick on the Susquehanna, as the commencement of all that has since been undertaken, and in so great a degree, accomplished by succeeding enterprise.

His correspondence with the mountaineers of that region, and with intelligent men, thence to the lakes, would prove how extensive were his views and how practical their objects, requiring only the evidence which Time is now annually producing, to demonstrate that the waters of the Susquehanna, of the Schuylkill, and of the Lakes, admitted of the connexion with and of the advantages to the City of Philadelphia which he had so early intimated.

He sought no noisy heralds of his fame, but rather shrunk from popular applause, preferring the silent, but sincere and permanent testimony of the calm, the considerate, and the contemplative few, to the clamorous voice of the multitude; whose best interests it was always, however, his object to promote, by plans conceived in the sanctuary of his study, and not submitted until matured by reflection, and supported by conference and consultation with those on whose judgment he relied.

The extended and liberal system of education by the Society of Friends is greatly indebted to his early and unceasing efforts; but of these and of all the incidents of his later life, you are well apprized.

I am, Dear Sir,

With sincere esteem and regard,

Your obedient servant and friend,

ANTHONY MORRIS.

To J. R. TYSON, Esq.

THE
INDIAN TREATY,
FOR THE
LANDS NOW THE SITE
OF
PHILADELPHIA
AND
THE ADJACENT COUNTRY.

BY JOHN F. WATSON, ESQ.

VOL. III.

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THE INDIAN TREATY.

GENERAL opinion, and other circumstances, have hitherto favoured the idea, that the land now forming the site of Philadelphia, and, indeed of the province of Pennsylvania, was acquired, by treaty and purchase made by William Penn, when he met the Indian Sachems and their people under the Great Elm—called the Treaty Tree, in Kensington,—but such is not the case, as facts, now to be adduced, will sufficiently prove. These facts were not known to me when I wrote and published my Annals of Philadelphia, in 1830;—still, however, they may not materially alter the statements which I there made in my chapter entitled “the Treaty Tree and Fairman’s Mansion.” We must still admit the fact, that at that place, and under that Great Tree, “was shadowed once the revered founder of our honoured State, met with forest chieftains and their vanished tribes.” It was a great meeting of *verbal* conference and pledge—popularly called the Treaty,—in which mutual civilities were exchanged, and reciprocal promises of friendship and good will severally made. To this fact, the testimony of tradition has been unceasing and unchanging. It has been told and believed from the beginning—or from a time, as the civilians say, “in which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary.”

If my assumption or conjecture be true, it will then sufficiently account for the hitherto strange fact, that in so important a matter as the Deed and title to the lands, which we now, as Philadelphians, and even as Pennsylvanians, occupy, we have no original Treaty to show! We have hitherto been looking for an alleged instrument of writing, which had no existence *at that time*, because it was not then necessary, nor then executed. But the fact is, as records which I inspected last winter, at Harrisburg, will show, that the actual treaty made for the lands of the present Philadelphia and adjacent country, out to Susquehannah, was made in the year 1685, by Thomas Holme, as President of the Council, in the absence of William Penn, who was then at home in England; and as the considerations are so very small, in comparison with present value of the same regions, it may be deemed of sufficient interest to give the whole treaty in detail, as I transcribed it from the records,—to wit:

We, Shakkoppoh, Secane, Malibore, Tangoras,—Indian Sakamakers, and right owners of the lands lying between Macapanackan, alias Upland, now called Chester river or Creek, and the River or Creek of Pemapecka, now called Dublin creek, beginning at a hill called Conshohockin, at present Madson's ford, on the River Manaiunk or Skoolkill, from thence extending a parallel line to the said Macopanackan, (alias Chester creek,) by a south-western course, and from the said Conshohockin hill to the aforesaid Pemapecka, (alias Dublin creek,) by the said parallel line north-westerly, and so up along the said Pemapecka as far as the creek extends, and so from thence north-westerly back into the woods, to make up two full days' journey as far as a man can go in two days from the said station of the said parallel line at Pemapecka, as also beginning at the said parallel at Macopanackan, (Chester creek;) and so from thence up the said Creek as far as it extends; and from thence north-westerly back into the woods to make up two full days' journey, as far as a

man can go in two days from the said station—the said parallel line at the said Macopanackan, alias Chester creek:—

(P For, and in consideration of 200 fathom of wampum, 30 fathom of duffels, 30 guns, 60 fathom of strawd waters, 30 kettles, 30 shirts, 20 gun-belts, 12 pair shoes, 30 pair stockings, 30 pair of scissors, 30 combs, 30 axes, 30 knives, 21 tobacco tongues, 30 bars of lead, 30 pounds of powder, 30 awls, 30 glasses, 30 tobacco boxes, 3 papers of leads, 44 lbs. of red lead, 30 pair of hawks bells, 6 drawing knives, 6 caps, 12 hoes:—To us in hand well and truly paid by William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania and territories: Do by these presents, grant, bargain, and sell, &c., all right, title, and interest, *that we or any others shall or may claim in the same*,—hereby renouncing and disclaiming for ever, any claim or pretence to the premises, *for us, our heirs, and successors, and all other Indians whatsoever*. In witness whereof, we set our hands and seals, &c., this 30th day of the 5th Month, called July, and in the year 1685.

SHAKAKAPPOH,
SECANE,
MALEBORE,
TANGORAS,

Sealed and delivered to Thomas Holme, President of the Provincial Council, in the presence of us—

TARECKHOUA,
PENOUGHANT,
WESAKANT,
KACOCANAHOUA,
NEHALLAS,
TOUTAMEN,
TOPASEKENIN,

LASSE COCKE,
MOUNS COCK,
SWAN SWANSON,
ISM FRAMPTON,
SAMUEL CARPENTER,
WILL. ASLEY,
ARTHUR COOKE,
TRYALL HOLME.

Note.—The Indian signatures are represented by their *totems*, as the figure of a tortoise, snake, &c.

(P The foregoing is recorded in the book of "Charters and Indian Deeds," page 62, in the office of the Secretary of State, at Harrisburg. The record appears to have been made only about 20 years ago.

In addition to the foregoing inventory of small things so solemnly conferred, I am enabled to give the following farther proceedings in this momentous case to us, the proper inheritors of the great benefit thus procured—to wit:

Philadelphia.

To my very loving friends, Shakhoppoh, Secaming, Malebore, Tangoras, *Indian Kings*; and to Maskecasho, Wawarrin, Tenoughan, Tarrecka, Nesonhaikin, *Indian Sakamackers*, and the rest concerned:—

Whereas, I have purchased and bought of you, the Indian Kings and Sakamackers, for the use of Governor William Penn, all your land, from Pemapecka creek to Upland creek, and so backward to Chesapeake Bay and Susquehanna, two days' journey;—that is to say, as far as a man can go in two days, as under the hands and seals of you the said Kings, may appear; and to the end I may have a certain knowledge of the lands backward, and that I may be enabled and be provided against the time for running the said two days' journey, I do hereby appoint and authorize my loving friend, Benjamin Chambers, of Philadelphia, with a convenient number of men to assist him to make out a westerly line from Philadelphia to Susquehanna, that so the said line may be prepared and made ready for going the said two days' journey backward, hereafter when notice is given to you the said Kings, or some of you at the time of going the said line; and I do hereby desire and require in the name of our said Governor Penn, that none of you, the said Kings, Sakamackies, or any other Indians whatsoever, that have formerly been concerned in the said tracts of land, do presume to offer any interruption or hinderance in marking out this said line; but

rather I expect your furtherance and assistance, if occasion be herein; and that you will be kind and loving to my said friend Benjamin Chambers and his company, for which, I shall on the Governor's behalf, be kind and loving to you hereafter as occasion may require. Witness my hand and seal this 7th day of 5th Month, called July, being the fourth year of the reign of our great King of England, &c., and 8th of our Proprietary William Penn's Government.

THOMAS HOLME.

A true copy from the original by

JACOB TAYLOR.

[P] The foregoing is recorded in a large folio in the Land Office, at Harrisburg, in Book No. 14, entitled "Old Surveys and Register of Land Warrants."

With the same paper is a diagram of the ground plot of the survey. It goes in a direct line from Philadelphia to a spot on the Susquehannah, at about three miles above the mouth of the "Conestogon," near to a spot marked "Fort Demolished." The line crosses *two Indian paths* running each N. W. by N.;—the first at 15 miles from Philadelphia at "Rocky run;" the other at 38 miles distant near "a rivulet," 2 miles beyond "Doe run." [P] It might be matter of curiosity at this day to ascertain and observe the precise localities of those primitive roads and passes, used from time immemorial by the Aborigines, probably the only ones so specifically marked in our country.]

It will be seen from the premises, that the indefinite limits of a two days' walk, was predetermined to eventuate on our part, with an extension to the River Susquehannah, as a great and important natural boundary. It will be observed, too, that even before Penn's day, there had been *a Fort* constructed by some Christian people upon the shore of that river. We may remark, too, that it is in proof from our records at Harrisburg, that it was the practice in the early settlement, to acquire the lands by separate negotiations with separate

Indian proprietors, and generally for the like class and value of purchase consideration, as for instance;—at a treaty at New Castle on the 2d of 8th month, 1685, sundry Indians then convey “all the lands between Quing Quingas, called Duck Creek unto Upland, called Chester Creek, fronting along the Delaware River, and thence backward as far as a man can ride in two days with a horse, in consideration, &c.” In the same manner the famed “King Tamanen” and Matamequan, make a treaty on the 23d of 4th Month, 1683, with William Penn, for lands from Neshameneh Creek to Pema-pecka. And in the year 1737, a treaty is on record, made at Philadelphia by sundry Delaware Chiefs, *to confirm* one before made, (about 3 years before,) at Durham by two Delaware Chiefs or Sachems, namely, Teeshakomer, that is, Tisk-cokank and Nootames, that is, Nutemees, at which last were present Lappawinsee and other Delawares, “concerning lands sold by their fathers, more than fifty years before, unto William Penn”—“beginning at a Spruce tree by the river Delaware about Makerisk Kitton, (probably the Falls,) and thence W. N. W. by the mountains to a corner White Oak, and thence westward to Neshamini Creek,” &c. It is worthy of remark in this connexion, that the foregoing names of Tisk-cokank, i. e. *Tishohan* and *Lapowinsa* are the same persons whose two portraits, *finely executed at the time in Philadelphia by some unknown but excellent artist*, were lately received from England as a present from the present Penn family, and are now deposited among the treasures of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The facts herein given, are communicated for the benefit of the Historical Society,—to be used as the members may deem most convenient. They present many subjects for thought, and of comparison between our small beginnings and present enlarged attainments!

Respectfully submitted by

JOHN F. WATSON.

Germanstown, December 2, 1835.

POST SCRIPTUM.

In an examination honestly intended to investigate the whole truth, one ought not, perhaps, to withhold from the reader the fact, that the River Delaware, as an *easternmost* boundary line, is not named, and that the only specific line given as a starting place, called a "station," and a "parallel line," is designated as running *from* Conshohockin Hill, (where is now Matson's Ford on the Schuylkill,) by a "*parallel line*," to Chester Creek, in a south-westerly course,—thus making it arrive at Chester Creek on the north-western line of the present Delaware county, at or near the Friends' School in Westown; and a "*parallel line*" is also made to run "from the said Conshohockin Hill, in a north-westerly course until it reaches the Pemapecka Creek, probably at or near the present Horsham square in Montgomery county." From both those points, at each extremity of the line of width, the land was to be measured two days' journey into the woods, in a north-western direction; thus making the line from the Pemapecka run in the course of the present southern boundary of Bucks county, back to the far end of that county, or even onward through the present Lehigh county, as far as the foot of the Blue Mountains;—and, also, making the line from Chester Creek run back by Downingstown, in the line of the present southern boundary of Berks county, to the foot of the same Blue Mountain range. James Logan, in his speech in Council, in June 1728, to the Indian Chiefs then present, said that "they had ten years before *confirmed* by treaty, all the lands from Duck Creek to Leckay, (now Easton,) and thence to the Hills, (the Blue Mountains,) on the Susquehannah, ten miles above Paxton," i. e., the present Harrisburg.

It might possibly be inferred from this view of the subject, that the land *lying between* the River Delaware and the afore-

said "parallel line," was *not* conveyed in *that* treaty, but in some preceding one; but, besides the ambiguity of the term "*parallel*"—used in the connexion, in the sense of a *straight line*, it is shown by sundry collateral facts, that it might have meant the conveyance of the land from river to river—say from the Delaware to the Susquehannah. We advert to facts like these, to wit: The order from the Surveyor General, Thomas Holme, to survey, addressed to Shakhoppah and other Kings in *that* treaty, says it is "to mark out a westerly line *from Philadelphia* to Susquehannah,"—"of the land purchased of them *backwards* to the same." We also know, that the diagram of the survey, as actually made, goes directly westward *from Philadelphia* to near the mouth of the Conestogo Creek.

The objections which may possibly be made to these inferences are, that my Annals of Philadelphia, at page 127, state that one paper found among the archives at Harrisburg barely mentions, that "after the treaty was held, William Penn and the Friends went into the house of Lacey Cock;" and one Peter Cock was known to have had a grant of a tract called Shackamaxon, from the New York Governor in 1664. Besides this, it was said that Mr. Gordon, the late historian of Pennsylvania, had asserted that he had seen at Harrisburg an envelope, (possibly written by some Clerk of the Office in former years, as his sense of the contents,) on which was endorsed, "Papers relative to the Indian Treaty under the Great Elm." It may be urged too, that the treaty made on the 23d of 4th Month, 1683, when William Penn was known to be here, between William Penn and Kings *Tamanen* and *Metamequan*, for their lands, from "near Neshemenah Creek, and thence to Pemapecka," *may* have been treated for under the Treaty Tree. This certainly appears to have been the earliest land treaty upon record; and as Philadelphia was *then* already located as a city, it could not have been a necessary treaty for *that* object. The truth, however, may have

been, that there was an implied understanding for the use of lands *before* the pledge of formal treaty. For instance, in the present case, exploration and survey had been made in 1682, for making a city of Philadelphia at the mouth of the Poetquessing Creek, where is now G. W. Morgan's seat; and many persons had gone into and made settlements in Byberry, both being places within the bounds of King Tamanen's lands—the "Saint Tamany" of our modern appellation. In the case of the other Treaty of 1685, with King Shakhopoh and others, it must have included the same lands which William Penn had already conveyed to the Welsh settlers on the *western* side of Schuylkill, as early as 1682—3.

It might serve to settle the question, whether the Treaty with King Tamanen was the one made at the Treaty Tree, if inquiry were hereafter made at Harrisburg to ascertain *the date* of the fact there stated, that "after the Treaty was held, William Penn and the friends went into the house of Lacey Cock." It might also be examined whether that treaty had any direct relation to the one which I saw stated in the minutes of Council, made by Governor Gordon and his Council at *Conastogae*, on the 26th May, 1728, wherein they and Captain Civility and other Chiefs, as parties to the same, refer to Penn's "*first treaty*," in *nine* items;—one of which is, that "the doors of the Christian houses should be open to the Indians, and the houses of the Indians should be open to the Christians as welcome friends on both sides;" and finally, this mutual amity was to exist between them for ever,—or "as long as the Creeks and Rivers run, and while the Sun, Moon, and Stars endure." The consideration articles, given in *that* Treaty, made at Conestogo in 1728, as I understood the sense of it, for it was ambiguously worded to *my* mind—read thus: "We bind them with these several parcels of goods, to wit: 20 stroud match coats, 20 duffels, 20 blankets, 20 shirts, 1 cwt. of powder, 2 cwt. of lead, 500 flints, and 50 knives." I mention these specifications thus in detail, as a better means

to identify a "*first treaty*," if indeed by this expression any thing more was meant than *their* first treaty as *emigrant* Shawanese, when coming in 1698 from the region of North Carolina, and placed, "by agreement, at the said Conestogo; or it might have been the form chosen as their expressed recollections of the Indians generally, founded upon *unwritten* promises, spoken in their own figurative method.

A MEMOIR
ON THE
HISTORY OF THE CELEBRATED TREATY

MADE BY
WILLIAM PENN

WITH
THE INDIANS
UNDER THE ELM TREE AT SHACKAMAXON,

IN THE YEAR 1682.

BY PETER S. DU PONCEAU
AND
J. FRANCIS FISHER.

Vol. III.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE authors of this Memoir having been appointed by the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, together with their late lamented Vice President, the Honourable Roberts Vaux, members of a Committee to report on Mr. Watson's communication, entitled, "The Indian Treaty for the lands now the site of Philadelphia and the adjacent country," and published in this volume; they were agreeably surprised, to find in that communication mention made of a conference held at Conestogo, by Governor Gordon, with the Chiefs of several Indian tribes, in the year 1728, in which that Governor related to the Indians in nine articles, what he called the principal links of the chain, that is to say, the principal covenants of the leagues made with the Indians by William Penn and his Governors, which they doubted not had their origin in the great Treaty; but as Mr. Watson had only briefly given the substance of those articles, the survivors of the Committee (Mr. Vaux having died in the interval) requested him to endeavour to obtain for them, from the minutes of the Provincial Council at Harrisburg, a full copy of the whole conference, which he was kind enough to do through his friend, Mr. Toland, who was then at the seat of Government. This copy is now presented, as an appendix to the following Memoir.

Reflecting on this document, the Committee were induced to inquire into the whole history of the great Treaty, which they found involved in much doubt and obscurity, principally from the want of cotemporary records, in consequence of which popular notions have crept in amidst the various traditions that have been received from our ancestors, and the partial efforts that have been made by curious inquirers to remove the doubts, and clear up the obscurity, by means of insulated documents which have been discovered from time to time, have been attended only with partial success, and sometimes have failed of their object, by inducing erroneous notions, arising from the misapplication of those documents, or false inferences drawn from them.

The Committee intended at first to offer the results of their investigation of this subject, in the form of a report on Mr. Watson's communication; but new difficulties arising, and new questions presenting themselves as they advanced in their researches, they determined to take up the matter *ab ovo*, and to discuss it in the form of a Memoir or dissertation, which they now present, and in which they have proceeded by collecting all the evidences and testimonies that they could find relating to the subject; comparing the various relations and opinions of historians and other writers, and from the whole eliciting as much light as it has been in their power to throw upon this important transaction, which, to Pennsylvania and her illustrious Founder, is a crown of glory that will last to the end of time.

MEMOIR.

THE fame of the treaty under the Elm tree, or as it is called, the *Great Treaty*, is coextensive with the civilized world. So early as the middle of the Eighteenth Century, M. de Voltaire spoke of it as an historical fact, well known at that time. "William Penn," says he, "began with making a league with the Americans, his neighbours. It is the only treaty between those nations and the Christians which was never sworn to and never broken."* Other European writers have spoken of it, in terms of unqualified praise, to the honour of our illustrious Founder, and of the colony which he governed.

Is it not astonishing then, that a transaction which does so much honour to our country, should rest among us on vague and obscure traditions, and should not be known in all its interesting details? The earlier records of the colony give us no information whatever upon the subject. The minutes of Council which have come down to us, begin only with the 10th of March, 1683, and it is admitted on all hands that the great Treaty took place in the preceding year. The records of the proceedings of the Legislature begin at an earlier date, but it is not there that we should expect to find traces of an act

* Dictionnaire Philosophique, verbo *Quaker*.

which peculiarly belongs to the executive power. The letters of William Penn, as far as they have come to our knowledge, speak of treaties with the Indians, but in general terms; and no where in that correspondence is that celebrated Treaty particularly mentioned. Yet no one can doubt of its having taken place. The tradition on which it at present rests, may be sufficient for the vulgar, but men of enlightened minds will look beyond that, and will wish to satisfy themselves by more tangible evidence. With a view to obtain this, we have searched all the ancient records that have come within our reach; we have collected facts and dates, and have applied the torch of criticism to all the evidences that we have been able to collect respecting this interesting point of our history. We now respectfully submit the results of our inquiries, at the same time holding up to view the steps by which we have been led to our conclusions.

We must observe in the first place that it is not on this treaty that depends the fame of our illustrious founder, nor is it on his having purchased his lands of the Indians, instead of taking them by force. Others, before him, had made treaties of friendship and of alliance with the original possessors of the American soil; others, had obtained their lands from them by fair purchase; in Pennsylvania the Swedes, the Dutch and the English who governed the country during the space of eighteen years under the Duke of York, had pursued the same peaceable system; it is, therefore, not only unjust, but it is extremely injudicious, to endeavour to ascribe to William Penn the exclusive merit of a conduct pointed out, not only by the plainest rules of justice and the example of his predecessors, but also by prudence and the soundest policy, particularly when it is considered how much easier and cheaper it was to purchase the lands of those savage tribes, than to attempt to take them by force, which in the infancy of colonies, would not have been found an easy task. When the European writers praised William

Penn so highly for having purchased his lands of the Indians, they meant to place his conduct in opposition to that of Pizarro and Cortez, and although they attributed to Penn alone a merit to which he was not exclusively entitled, they could not have chosen a fitter personage to make the strongest contrast with those destroyers of their fellow-men.

The true merit of William Penn, that in which he surpasses all the founders of empires whose names are recorded in ancient and modern history, is not in having made treaties with or purchased lands of the Indians, but in the honesty, the integrity, the strict justice with which he constantly treated the Aborigines of the land; in the fairness of all his dealings with them, in his faithful observance of his promises; in the ascendancy which he acquired over their untutored minds; in the feelings of gratitude with which his conduct and his character inspired them, and which they, through successive generations until their final disappearance from our soil, never could nor did forget, and to the last moment kept alive in their memories.

Let us be permitted to quote here what is related to us by an eye witness, a man worthy of the most unqualified credit in what he says of his own knowledge; we mean the venerable Heckewelder, who thus expresses himself in his history of the Indian nations who inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighbouring states.*

After speaking of the aversion of the Indians to holding treaties elsewhere than in the open air, he proceeds to relate what they told him of the conduct of William Penn in that respect, and to show by a striking example the veneration in which his memory was held among them through successive generations. "William Penn," said they, "when he treated with them, adopted the ancient mode of their ancestors, and convened them under a grove of shady trees, where the little

* Hist. Trans. A. P. S. p. 176.

birds on their boughs, were warbling their sweet notes. In commemoration of these conferences," continues the historian, ("which are always to the Indians a subject of pleasing remembrance,) they frequently assembled together in the woods, in some shady spot, as nearly as possible similar to those where they used to meet their brother *Miquon*, and there lay all his words or speeches with those of his descendants on a blanket or clean piece of bark, and with great satisfaction go successively over the whole. This practice, *which I have repeatedly witnessed*, continued until the year 1780, when the disturbances which then took place put an end to it, probably for ever."

Thus we find that the lapse of one hundred years had not obliterated in the minds of the Indians, the tender feelings which the kindness and upright conduct of their brother *Miquon*, (so the Delawares called William Penn,) and no doubt, in the dreary solitudes beyond the Mississippi, to which their miserable remnants have been driven by a policy to which history will give its true name, those poor exiles from the land of their ancestors still teach their children to lisp the name of their friend *Miquon*, with far different feelings from those with which they refer to names of more modern date.

Those grateful Indians, says Heckewelder, laid all the words (so they called the speeches) of William Penn, on a blanket or clean piece of bark, and with great satisfaction went successively over the whole. Perhaps it will be asked how they could do that, who were entirely ignorant of the art of writing? They had in their strings and belts of wampum an artificial memory, not unlike the *Quipos* of the Peruvians,* by means of which, with the aid of tradition, fre-

* Ghesaont, an Indian chief, addressing Governor Keith, in his speech at the treaty held at Conestogoe, on the 5th of July 1721, says: Though the Indians cannot write, yet they retain every thing said in their councils, with all the nations they treat with, and preserve it carefully in their memories, as if it was committed, in your method, to writing. 2 Proud, 132.

quently repeated from one to the other, they could remember the speeches made to them and their own in due succession. If they did not recollect the very words, they remembered the substance, and thus in their subsequent speeches to the successive Governors of Pennsylvania, we find them repeating what had been told them on former occasions, and frequently referring to the promises made to them by their good friend *Onas*,* which they always delighted to commemorate when speaking to his successors.

Of these treaties of friendship it appears that several took place between William Penn and the different tribes of Indians. Those treaties were held in the form of conferences, in which every thing was transacted by means of speeches on both sides. It must not, therefore, be imagined, that those treaties or leagues as William Penn calls them, were engrossed on parchment and signed by all the parties; all that took place on those occasions was, indeed, recorded, by the Christians in their books of minutes, by the Indians after their own manner, which we have before explained. There is every reason to believe that the treaty or conference under the elm tree was recorded by the whites, and it is certain that the memory of it was preserved by the Indians. Had it been written on a roll of parchment and delivered to them, as is said by Clarkson, that parchment would have been kept by them with care, or we should have heard, through them, at least of its former existence. The counterpart would have been preserved in the archives of the colony, and memorials of it would be found elsewhere than in the descriptions of enthusiastic writers, who either had not the means

* The name of *Onas* was given to William Penn by the Iroquois, whom the proprietary and generally the English colonial governments supported in their claims of superiority over the other Indian tribes; it seems that the Delawares adopted that name at least in their public speeches; among themselves, they called him, in their own language, *Miquon*. Both these words signify a *quill*, or *pen*.

or the inclination to enter into a critical examination of the subject.

That this treaty was held at Shackamaxon, under the celebrated Elm Tree, shortly after the arrival of William Penn in 1682, we think that the least doubt cannot at present be entertained. The testimony of all the historians concur with uninterrupted tradition in establishing these facts. As to the locality, the veneration with which, the celebrated Elm Tree has been regarded from time immemorial attests it, in our opinion, with sufficient certainty. The venerable Richard Peters who not long since died at a very advanced age, and his friend Mr. David H. Conyngham still living, both have affirmed that in their early youth, sixty or seventy years ago, the fact of the first treaty having been held under the Elm Tree, which, was destroyed by a storm in 1810 was universally admitted, and that Benjamin Lay, who came to Pennsylvania at the age of fifty-four years, in the year 1731, only half a century after the arrival of the founder, showed his veneration for it by paying it frequent visits.* These testimonies are sufficient to establish this fact beyond the possibility of controversy.

Thus much we think we can assert without the fear of contradiction; we even believe and there is some evidence to prove that Shackamaxon and the Elm Tree, before the arrival of William Penn, were the scene of a former treaty made with the Indians by Markham and the commissioners associated with him, which was afterwards confirmed by the Proprietary on the same spot. If it be so, it adds to the solemnity of the act, and the sacredness of the ground.

With these preliminary observations, we shall now pursue our subject historically, and endeavour to show by means of the evidence within our reach, the nature and objects of the great treaty, and the stipulations it contained; we shall try to

* *Memoirs Hist. Soc.* Vol. 1, p. 93.

ascertain its date, and to bring to view, as far as will be in our power, all the material circumstances connected with it. Various opinions have hitherto prevailed which require to be carefully examined. The most general is that which connects this treaty with the purchase of lands. We shall consider how far that opinion is founded, and upon the whole, we shall do all that we can to elucidate a subject that has been too long involved in obscurity and doubt.

In the first place we must let William Penn speak for himself; his testimony is the best that we can adduce on the occasion.

The charter by which Pennsylvania was granted to him by Charles II., is dated the 4th of March, 1681. It seems that he lost no time in taking measures to secure the possession of his colony, and to obtain correct information respecting it. In May following, he sent his cousin Markham to take possession in his name, and to make the necessary preparations for his reception, when, no doubt, he invested him with full powers, and gave him detailed instructions to regulate his conduct. It is much to be regretted that we can find no traces of those instructions, nor of the correspondence which must have taken place between him and the Proprietary, during the space of 17 months that elapsed from the time of his departure until the arrival of William Penn. All we know is, that he sailed from England in the month of May, 1681, and for that fact we are indebted to Chalmers,* who, having had access to the public records in London, is most to be believed, while the historians, Proud and Clarkson, make him sail in company with Penn's commissioners, who left England at a later period. Of Markham's doings in America until William Penn's arrival, we know absolutely nothing.

* In May, 1681, Penn detached Markham with a small emigration, in order to take possession of the country, and to prepare it for a more numerous colony.—Chalm. 640.

except that he purchased from the Indians, for the Proprietor, an inconsiderable tract of land, of which we shall speak in its place, and began to build on it a dwelling-house, which was afterwards called Pennsbury Manor. We have no authentic evidence of his having done any thing else; we must presume, however, that he acted in concert with the commissioners who were sent after him, as will be mentioned. As to what they did, also, we are entirely in the dark, and left to our conjectures.

It was not until after Markham's departure, that William Penn made known to the adventurers who were disposed to follow his fortunes, the conditions on which he admitted them to become purchasers and settlers of his lands in Pennsylvania. These conditions, or *concessions*, as they are called, bear date the 11th of July, 1681.* There begins to be developed his admirable plan of conduct respecting the Indians, to which he not only bound himself, but all who chose to follow him, who were not permitted to come as settlers to Pennsylvania, unless they subscribed to those conditions, to which it appears they uniformly agreed. There is not a line in this part of that instrument that does not deserve to be specially recorded; therefore we transcribe it at full length.

XI. There shall be no buying and selling, be it with an *Indian*, or one among another, of any goods to be exported, but what shall be performed in public market, when such places shall be set apart, or erected, where they shall pass the public stamp, or mark. If bad ware, and prized as good, or deceitful in proportion or weight, to forfeit the value, as if good and full weight and proportion, to the public treasury of this province, whether it be the merchandise of the *Indian*, or that of the planters.

XII. And forasmuch, as it is usual with the planters to

* 2d Proud, Append., No. 1.

overreach the poor natives of the country, in trade, by goods not being good of the kind, or debased with mixtures, with which they are sensibly aggrieved, it is agreed, whatever is sold to the *Indians*, in consideration of their furs, shall be sold in the market-place, and there suffer the test, whether good or bad; if good, to pass; if not good, not to be sold for good, that the natives may not be abused, nor provoked.

XIII. That no man shall, by any ways or means, in word, or deed, affront, or wrong any *Indian*, but shall incur the same penalty of the law, as if he had committed it against his fellow planter, and if any *Indian* shall abuse, in word, or deed, any planter of this province, that he shall not be his own judge upon the Indians, but he shall make his complaint to the Governor of the province, or his lieutenant, or deputy, or some inferior magistrate near him, who shall, to the utmost of his power, take care with the King of the said *Indians* that all reasonable satisfaction be made to the said injured planter.

XIV. That all differences, between the planters and the natives, shall also be ended by *twelve* men, that is, by six planters and six natives; that so we may live friendly together as much as in us lieth, preventing all occasions of heart-burnings and mischief.

XV. That the *Indians* shall have liberty to do all things relating to improvement of their ground, and providing sustenance for their families, that any of the planters shall enjoy.

This document clearly shows that William Penn's mind was bent on doing full justice to the Indians, and seeing it done by others, and that he wished to prevent their being cheated or overreached in their dealings with the whites, or otherwise aggrieved in their persons or their property; the methods that he proposed, however, show that he was then but little acquainted with the state of the colony or the character of the natives; it was soon found that the sales in *market overt*, the previous inspection of goods offered for sale, and, above all, the trial by juries *de medietate lingue*, could not, in

any manner, be carried into execution; therefore those do not appear in the laws enacted after his arrival: it is nevertheless certain that he protected the Indians to the utmost of his power, of which their respect for his memory gives sufficient evidence.

About two months after the date of this instrument, William Penn sent three commissioners to manage his affairs in his colony, namely William Crispin, John Bezar, and Nathaniel Allen.* None of our historians appear to have been acquainted with the names or even with the number of these commissioners; they only tell us that he sent his cousin Markham to Pennsylvania with certain commissioners, and make it appear as if they had sailed together for America, while it is now ascertained that Markham departed long before them. These facts would have remained in obscurity, but for the late discovery of the instructions given by William Penn to those commissioners, which have been found among the papers of the Hamilton family, and are printed in the second volume of our memoirs.† This document is of great importance to our early history. It is dated the 30th of September, 1681, and confirms Chalmers' statement of Markham's having left England at an earlier period, for in these instructions, William Penn speaks of his cousin Markham "*now on the spot*;"‡ and, what is of much greater consequence, they give us textually his humane directions respecting the conduct to be held with the Indians: "Be tender," he says, "of offending the Indians—let them know that you are

* We hear no more of these Commissioners after the arrival of William Penn, except John Bezar, who appears to have been twice returned as a member of Assembly for Chester county.

† Part I., page 215.

‡ A letter from William Penn to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, dated the 8th of April, 1681, which has lately come to light, and which was sent by Markham, strongly corroborates Chalmers' statement of his having sailed from England in May following.

come to sit down lovingly among them. Let my letter and conditions with my purchasers about just dealing with them be read in their tongue, that they may see we have their good in our eye, equal with our own interest; and after reading my letter and the said conditions, then present their Kings with what I send them, and *make a friendship and league with them* according to those conditions, which carefully observe, and get them to comply with you; be grave, they love not to be smiled on."

The letter which William Penn speaks of in the above document, is his celebrated letter to the Indians, which is inserted at length in Proud's History and in Clarkson's Biography.* The original is in the possession of Benjamin Chew, Esq., of Germantown. We shall only extract from it what relates to our subject. He says to the Indians: "I shall shortly come to see you myself, at which time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse on these matters. In the mean time, I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land *and a firm league of peace.*"

This letter is dated the 18th of October, a little more than two weeks after the date of the instructions, which leads us to believe that the commissioners did not sail until the latter end of that month. They probably took their passage in the Bristol Factor, Roger Drew, master, which we are told arrived at Upland, now Chester, and the river having frozen the night that they went on shore, they remained there all the winter.† Although this is of no consequence for the object of this Memoir, it may hereafter elucidate some points of our history. Dates are never to be neglected.

The above is all that we find of William Penn prior to his coming to America. After his arrival, however, but not before the 16th of August, 1683, he wrote a long and very in-

* 1 Proud, 195. 1 Clarkson, 227.

† 1 Clarkson, 226.

teresting letter to the free Society of Traders in England, which is recorded at large by Proud and Clarkson.* In that letter, in which he gives a minute description of the state of his province, as it existed at the time, he says a great deal on the subject of the Indians, and undertakes to describe their persons, languages, manners, religion, and government. He speaks of their councils, and their manner of holding treaties, and in so doing, he refers particularly to a treaty which he himself held with them. We shall extract so much of that part of his letter, as is applicable to the subject of this memoir.

"Every king," says he, "has his council, and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which, perhaps, is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land or traffick, without advising with them, and, which is more, with the young men too. I have had occasion to be in council with them, upon treaties for land, and to adjust terms of trade."†

William Penn, then, in order to give an idea of their manner of proceeding when they held conferences or treaties, relates what took place at a treaty which he made with them for the purchase of land. After describing the order of sitting and speaking, and all the usual ceremonies on such occasions, he proceeds thus: "When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us, of kindness and good neighbourhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun gave light." The Indians, of course, reciprocated these sentiments, and there the matter ended.

A question now arises, whether the treaty, the ceremonies of which William Penn, in the letter above cited, has so graphically described, which description, as not relating to our subject, we have not thought necessary to insert here,

* 1 Proud, 246. 1 Clarks. 292.

† 1 Proud, 257. 1 Clarks. 305.

whether that treaty might not be the one we are inquiring of, the celebrated treaty under the Elm tree? There is nothing in the letter to make us incline to that opinion. It must be recollected that it was written nearly ten months after Penn's arrival, and in that interval of time he tells us himself that he had *more than once* met their kings in council, upon treaties for land and to adjust terms of trade. It is to be observed that he here discriminates between these two kinds of treaties. By "adjusting terms of trade," he undoubtedly meant settling the intercourse between the Indians and the whites, and establishing it on the footing of friendship and good neighbourhood. This is what we conceive the treaty under the Elm tree to have been. The one of which he speaks in his letter to the free traders, appears to have been a negotiation for the purchase of land, and for no other purpose. The mutual promises and expressions of kindness with which the meeting concluded, appear to have been a kind of *protocol* used on all similar occasions, as may be found in many of the modern treaties, in Europe as well as in this country.

Previous to the writing of this letter, and in the same year, two considerable purchases of land were made by William Penn from the natives, the deeds of conveyance of which are on record.* The first, dated June 23d, 1683, conveys to him and his heirs the land lying between the Neshaminy and Pennypack Creek; the other, which bears date of the 14th of July following, is for lands lying between the Schuylkill and Chester river. It is probably to one of those treaties that he alluded in the letter above mentioned. When we come to inquire into the stipulations of the great treaty, we hope to be able to show that it cannot be that to which William Penn in this letter had reference.

It may be asked, perhaps, how it came to pass that Wil-

* 2 Smith's Laws of Pennsylvania, 110.

liam Penn in his letters, never made mention of this great, this famous, this celebrated treaty, which has already employed the pen of the historian and the pencil of the painter, and is destined to give birth to numerous productions in after ages, in verse and in prose? To this we have to answer, that we are not in possession of all the letters of our great founder, and that we are particularly deficient in those of the year in which the treaty was made. We may add also that he considered this treaty as a matter of course, and that he could not foresee the fame that it would acquire in future times, much less that the sacred Elm tree under which it was made would be held up to the veneration of posterity; and if he had foreseen all these things, the modesty which is known to have been one of his characteristics, would have prevented him from being the first to proclaim it to the world. But we know that that treaty was in his contemplation before he sailed for America—that he ordered his Commissioners to make a *league of friendship* with the Indians, and wrote to the latter to inform them of the fact and prepare them for it; and notwithstanding the obscurity which still rests upon this important transaction, there is every reason to believe that it did take place, and that a treaty of lasting peace and friendship was made by William Penn with the Indians, in the year 1682, at Shackamaxon, under the Elm tree, the memory of which will remain as long as Pennsylvania shall exist, and while her name and that of her patriarch shall be held in remembrance.

We shall next proceed to show what the historians have said on the subject of this treaty.

The first is Mr. Oldmixon, who wrote a book in two volumes, entitled "The British Empire in America."* This book was printed at London in the year 1708, about twenty-five years after the first arrival of William Penn in this

* This book is in the Philadelphia Library.

country. It contains an account of all the British colonies then existing on the American continent and in the West Indies. In his description of Pennsylvania he frequently refers to conversations that he had with William Penn, with whom he was personally acquainted. Like all the other historians, he relates that the proprietary, upon his arrival in his colony, entered into treaties with the Indians to buy lands.* Afterwards, however, speaking of Penn's removal to England, in 1684, he particularly mentions the treaties of friendship that he made with the aborigines. "Mr. Penn," says he,† "stayed in Pennsylvania two years, and having made a *league of amity* with nineteen Indian nations, established good laws, and seen his capital so well inhabited, that there were then near 300 houses and 2500 souls in it, besides 20 other townships, he returned to England, leaving William Markham, Esq. his Secretary, Mr. Thomas Holmes, Surveyor General, and the administration in the hands of the Council, whose President was Thomas Lloyd, Esq." &c.

In another part, speaking of the Indians in Pennsylvania, he says something, which, though it does not relate immediately to our subject, we cannot forbear transcribing.— "They," says he, "have been very civil and friendly to the English, who never lost man, woman, or child by them,‡ which neither the colony of Maryland nor that of Virginia can say, no more than the great colony of New England. This friendship and civility of the Pennsylvania Indians are imputed to Mr. Penn, the Proprietary's extreme humanity

* 1 Oldmix. 167.

† Ibid. p. 171.

‡ The first Indian who was killed in Pennsylvania by a white man, was murdered with circumstances of great cruelty by one Cartledge. He was arrested and going to be tried; but the Indians interceded for him and he was pardoned. This happened in 1721, forty years after William Penn became proprietor of Pennsylvania, and three years after his spirit had fled to a better world. Gordon, 188.

and bounty to them; he having laid out some thousands of pounds to instruct, support, and oblige them."*

Thus we have the testimony of a cotemporary of William Penn, and of one who had the advantage of conversing with him, to prove that during his first visit to this country, he made a *league of amity* with nineteen Indian nations. This number of NATIONS may appear exaggerated, but we must consider that every Indian village formed an Indian tribe, and in that sense we must consider the word *nation*, as employed by this writer. There were not in Pennsylvania at that time nineteen *nations*, properly so called. But that is of little consequence; it is enough for us that he made a league of amity with those Indians contradistinguished from his purchases of land. It seems to be generally believed, that that league was made with all of them together convened on the same spot. We do not concur in that opinion. We believe, as we have already said, that there were several treaties of the same kind between William Penn and the Indians. The one held at Shackamaxon was probably the most numerously attended.

The next historian that we shall refer to is Mr. Proud; whose history of Pennsylvania appeared in the year 1797, posterior to our Revolution. His notions of the great treaty appear to have been very vague: they rested on traditions which became more and more obscure, as generations passed away, and he does not seem to have taken much pains to come at the particulars of that transaction, which, at that time, had not acquired the importance that it has obtained since. He does not say a word about Shackamaxon or the Elm tree, although we have shown that it was held in great veneration at the time when he wrote. Indeed, Mr. Proud has been, not unjustly, reproached for having neglected the earlier part of

* Ibid, 164.

our history, and having more attended to that of subsequent times. Be that as it may, we shall proceed to state what he relates.

Having brought his narrative to the last month (February) of the year 1682, according to the old style, he continues thus: "The Proprietary, being *now* returned from Maryland to Coaquannock, the place so called by the Indians, where Philadelphia now stands, began to purchase lands of the Indians, whom he treated with justice and kindness," &c.*

On referring to authentic records, we do not find that William Penn began to purchase lands of the Indians until six or seven months after his arrival. The first account that we have of such transactions, is in his letter to the Lords of Plantations, dated the 14th of August, 1683. In that letter he says, that in the month of May, Lord Baltimore sent three gentlemen to invite him to a meeting at the head of the Chesapeake, but, says he, "I was then in treaty with the kings of the natives for land." Three days afterward, however, he met Lord Baltimore ten miles from New Castle.† What became of that negotiation we do not know, but we presume it was for the lands between the Neshaminy and the Penny-pack, for which he received a deed from the Indians, dated the 23d of June following,‡ which is the first that we find on record, except that for the purchase made by Markham, before the proprietor's arrival.

Mr. Proud, however, although he begins with mentioning the purchases of land made by William Penn, does not seem to confound them with the great treaty, for, after having spoken of these, in a subsequent paragraph he thus proceeds:

"It was at this time (1682,) when he, (William Penn) first entered *personally*§ into that lasting friendship with the

* 1 Proud, 211.

† Ibid. 271.

‡ 2 Smith's Laws, 110.

§ Here Mr. Proud seems to allude to a previous treaty with Markham and the Commissioners.

Indians, which ever after continued between them. — — — A *firm peace* was thereupon concluded between William Penn and the Indians, and both parties mutually promised to live together as brethren, without doing the least injury to each other. This treaty was solemnly ratified by the usual token of a chain of friendship, a covenant indelible, never to be broken as long as the sun and moon endure."* The words "*at this time*," which this author makes use of, in speaking of the epoch of the great treaty, might, if they stood alone, be understood to refer to the time when William Penn, after his arrival, made his first purchase of land of the Indians, and that he meant to connect with it the treaty of amity and friendship, and intimate that both were made at the same time; but by adding afterwards, between parentheses, (1682) he shows that he has only reference to the year and not to the purchase, which, in fact, as we have already said, did not take place until the year following.

It appears, that Mr. Proud had a correct general idea of the stipulations of this treaty. It is to be regretted that he did not enter into more particulars; but the co-temporary witnesses had died at the time when he wrote, which was during the American revolution, and he did not, probably, think that these particulars would be so much sought after by posterity. We, who believe that they will be still much more interesting to our descendants than they are to the present generation, conceive it to be our duty to throw as much light upon the subject, as our means of information permit us to do.

The next author we shall refer to, is Mr. Clarkson, the Biographer of William Penn. That gentleman is still living in England,† and may he continue to live many years longer. One of us has had the pleasure of his personal acquaint-

* 1 Proud, 212.

† At Clayford-Hall in the county of Suffolk.

ance, and both admire his untiring zeal in the cause of humanity. He is a true friend to Pennsylvania, and has raised a lasting monument to the fame of her illustrious founder. As relates to the particular subject of our inquiry, it is to be regretted that this benevolent author never was in this country, and had not, therefore, the means of information which were within the reach of Mr. Proud, and of which the historian of Pennsylvania did not make sufficient use. We make no doubt that Mr. Clarkson, had he been in his place, would have given us a more correct account of the great treaty, than that which, indeed, adorns his pages, but does not appear to us to be consistent with the facts as we believe them to have really happened. As he is a lover of truth as much as we are, we make no doubt that he will regard with indulgence the criticism that we are about to make of his relation of that important event.

Mr. Clarkson very justly regrets, that while we have accounts of minor treaties between William Penn and the Indians, he can find in no historian an account of this, though so many mention it, and though all concur in considering it as the most glorious in the annals of the world.* But he consoles himself with remarking that there are relations in Indian speeches, and traditions in Quaker families descended from those who were present on the occasion, from which, we may learn something concerning it. Those traditions have not taught us much, and Indian speeches, as we shall presently show, are not always to be relied on. Mr. Clarkson has told J. Francis Fisher, that he was indebted for his information on the subject of this treaty to our celebrated painter Benjamin West, who, we are sure, told him nothing else than what he himself believed. But Mr. West left this country at an age when young men are not apt to make profound inquiries into historical facts. In 1760, when he went to Italy,

* 1 Clarkson, 264.

those who in 1682 were of an age to observe passing events had disappeared from the scene, and he can have had but a general traditional knowledge of the great treaty, which, without the least imputation to his veracity, we suspect his enthusiastic imagination did not contribute a little to embellish; for, to be candid, the description given us by Mr. Clarkson of this treaty, and which, as to externals, agrees with Mr. West's picture, appears to us to savour something more of the brush of the painter than of the pen of the historian.

For instance, when the estimable author says, that William Penn went from Chester to Coaquannock, a distance of fifteen miles, accompanied by his friends, consisting of men, women and young persons of both sexes, where they met armed Indians, so numerous that they were seen in the woods as far as the eye could carry, and looked frightful, both on account of their number and their *arms*, we cannot give credit to this relation, from whatever source the author may have received it. We know that the Indians never carry arms when they go to make treaties, even with their enemies, but on the contrary, says Heckewelder, "they do not even permit any warlike weapon to remain within the limits of their council fire, when assembled about the ordinary business of their government. It might, they say, have a bad effect, and defeat the object for which they had met."* It is probable that neither Mr. West nor Mr. Clarkson had been informed of this characteristic trait of the Indian nations. It must be also observed that when William Penn first came to Pennsylvania, it was not a newly discovered country; the banks of the Delaware had been settled on by Europeans for more than forty years, and treaties had repeatedly been made before that time with the Indian inhabitants by the Swedes, the Dutch and the English. We have an account given us by Campanius, of a treaty made with them in 1654 by the

* Hist. Trans. A. P. S. 176.

Swedish Governor Rising, the stipulations of which appear pretty much the same as those of the great treaty.* Besides, Markham, as we believe, had already treated with them, and prepared them for the arrival of William Penn, and as Mr. Clarkson himself says, it was to *confirm* a former treaty, that the Christians and the Indians were now assembled; and before William Penn arrived, the Quakers at Burlington had made a treaty of amity and friendship with the Indians.† Therefore there could be no danger whatever in meeting them on that occasion, and William Penn and his friends who were present, are in no need of praise for the courage which they exhibited.

Far be it from us to wish to detract in the least from the fame of that great man. We too wish to exalt his name and give to his illustrious character the due meed of praise. But we will do so by confining ourselves strictly to the truth which he loved, and which during the whole of his long and honourable life he was never known to violate.

The great error of Mr. Clarkson, is to have ill chosen the subjects of the praise which he justly bestowed on his hero. He was misled by Voltaire and Raynal, whom he quotes with great complacency, and who placed the greatness of William Penn in not having imitated Cortez and Pizarro; in having purchased his lands of the Indians, and having softened those savages, whom their superficial‡ notions made them believe to have stood ready on the shores of the Delaware to devour him and his followers. This may sound very well in a romance, but history is bound to adhere to the truth, and rejects with disdain all traditions that are found to be inconsistent with it.

* Campanius, in 3 Memoirs Hist. Soc. Penn. p. 76.

† Good order established in Pennsylvania, by T. Budd, London, 1684. [In the Friends library at Philadelphia.]

‡ So little did M. de Voltaire know respecting this country, that in the article already quoted, he places Pennsylvania to the *south* of Maryland. How aptly we might quote here the words of M. de Voltaire himself. *Et voilà justement comme on écrit l'histoire!*

It is in consequence of the false light derived from the writings of these foreign authors, that Mr. Clarkson has connected the great Treaty with the purchase of lands, what no English or American historian had done before him. Hence the great roll of parchment, the payment made in goods to the Indians, all which, in our opinion, detracts a great deal from the solemnity and dignity of the scene.

We must do Mr. Clarkson, however, the justice to say, that what he relates of the speech of William Penn, on that occasion, appears to us conformable to the best traditions, and to agree, in substance, with the information that we have been able to collect elsewhere, from various sources. We are also indebted to him for the interesting circumstance of the blue sash worn by the Proprietor, and now in the possession of Thomas Kett, Esq., of Seething Hall, near Norwich, England. It is much to be wished that this valuable relic were deposited in the cabinet of some public institution in this country, where it would be safe from the dangers attending its possession by a private individual, whose successors in after times may not be impressed with the feelings of its present worthy possessor.

We have said before that Indian speeches were not always to be relied on as evidence of the facts which they contain. We are now going to speak of one of those documents which has not a little contributed to the confusion of ideas which has hitherto prevailed respecting the great Treaty, and which, no doubt, confirmed Mr. Clarkson in his opinion that that treaty was connected with a land purchase. We hope to show, that the ideas of the Indian who made that speech were not less confused, than those which it was the cause of spreading through the country and through the world. But before we proceed to its examination, it is necessary that we should state a few preliminary facts.

At the time of the arrival of William Penn, and probably

long before, the valley of the Susquehannah, on the southern frontier of this Commonwealth, was inhabited by a tribe of Indians of the Iroquois stock.* They were called by the Dutch *Maquas*, by the Swedes *Minques*, by the English *Mingoes*, and by the Delaware Indians *Mengwes*. They were settled there so early as the time of the Swedes. It will be recollected that a part, if not the whole of the Territory which they inhabited, was claimed by Lord Baltimore, as being within the limits of his province of Maryland. It appears, also, that some of the Delaware tribes, who possessed the banks of the Delaware and the eastern part of Pennsylvania, were settled among them, or in their neighbourhood. Whether it was in consequence of some differences between those tribes, who are known not to have liked each other, or of some persecutions from the agents of Lord Baltimore, it is almost reduced to a certainty that as soon as they heard of the arrival of the commissioners of the new Proprietor, William Penn, they sent a deputation to them and solicited their protection, which was granted. Of the treaty which took place, on that occasion, no trace whatever remains other than a vague tradition; but there can be no doubt that that was the treaty which, according to all the historians, was confirmed by William Penn under the great Tree, to which these Susquehannah Indians were parties with the other tribes assembled on the occasion.

Afterwards, in 1698, in the interval between William Penn's first and second visit to Pennsylvania, about sixty families of Shawanese or southern Indians, from what cause is immaterial, came to settle at Conestogo, among those who were al-

* There can be no doubt that those Indians were Iroquois. Dr. Franklin, in his Narrative of the Massacre of the Conestogo Indians, in December, 1763, tells us expressly that they were a tribe of the Six Nations. And what is still stronger evidence, Campanius gives us a vocabulary of their language, which shows it clearly to be an Iroquois dialect. See Mr. Du Ponceau's translation of his Description of New Sweden, in 3 Mem. Hist. Soc., page 158.

ready established there. These applied to the Proprietary government for permission to admit the new comers, offering to become answerable for their good behaviour; but the Proprietary arriving soon afterwards, the Chiefs of the Shawanese and Susquehannah Indians came to the city, and renewing their application, the Proprietary agreed to their settlement there, whereupon the Shawanese came under the protection of the Government.*

Mr. Redmond Conyngham, in his valuable notes on our early history, published in the 15th volume of Hazard's Pennsylvania Register,† conceives there is an error in the Report made to the Assembly in 1755, from which we have extracted the above. He thinks that the date of the coming of the Shawanese, and the first application of the Susquehannah Indians, should be 1678 and not 1698, as the report states. His object is evidently to connect that circumstance with the great Treaty. But that can be done without altering dates. The report states, that on the arrival of the Shawanese, the Susquehannah Indians applied to *this government*, praying that the former might be permitted to settle in their neighbourhood. Now *this government* must mean the Proprietary Government, and that did not exist in 1678. At that time the government of the country on the Delaware, was administered by an officer, called the Commander, and magistrates, who had no authority but to keep the peace, and settle private differences; the real government was at New York, and it is there that those Indians should have preferred their petition. Therefore the first application made by those Indians for protection to the Pennsylvania authorities, must have been to Markham and the Commissioners, in 1682, who, there is every reason to believe, made a treaty with them which was afterwards in the same year, confirmed by William Penn him-

* 4 Votes of Assembly of Pennsylvania, 517.

† Pages 80, 81, 117, 138, 180.

self at Shackamaxon. During his absence, afterwards, it seems that fresh difficulties arose, on which they applied to the Proprietary Government, and those difficulties were settled by a new treaty, which William Penn made with them, as Dr. Franklin informs us, in 1701.* Thus every thing is reconciled, and additional light is thrown on the history of the Treaty under the Elm Tree.

Having premised thus much, we shall proceed to examine the Indian speech which we have above mentioned. We find it in a well known pamphlet published at London during the French war, in 1759, the author of which is Charles Thomson, who was Secretary to Congress during the war of the Revolution. It is entitled "An inquiry into the causes of the alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British interest." We must acknowledge that the minutes of Council at Harrisburg, for the years 1721 and 1722, have been searched in vain for the treaty or conference related by Mr. Thomson, and the speech of Civility which it contains. Mr. Thomson's character for truth and integrity is, however, too well known, and generally acknowledged, that we doubt not he obtained the whole from some authentic source. It is certain that it has been generally credited, and is, in a great measure, the cause of the confusion that has taken place on the subject of the great Treaty. Mr. Thomson relates this conference as follows:

"Governor *Keith* having, in 1722, received advice that some persons, under pretence of searching for copper mines, intended to take up lands, by virtue of *Maryland* rights on the

* Dr. Franklin, in his Narrative above cited, speaking of the partial murder of the Indians at Conestogo, which preceded the great massacre in the jail at Lancaster, and mentioning the names of the Indians who were then murdered, says: "Of these Shehaes was a very old man, having assisted at the second treaty held with them by William Penn in 1701." This second treaty was the one which followed the application of the Indians in 1698, and the first was the great Treaty.

west side of the River *Susquehannah*, above *Conestogo*, issued a Proclamation to prevent them. Soon after, having advice that some persons were actually gone from *Maryland* to survey the lands, he went thither himself with the Surveyor General of the Province, and arriving first, ordered the Surveyor General, by virtue of Proprietary rights which he had before purchased, to survey for him five hundred and thirty acres of land upon that spot which he perceived was like to prove a bone of contention and the occasion of mischief. Upon his return, being informed that the young men of *Conestogo* were going out to war, he thought it necessary to hold a conference with those *Indians*; and accordingly, going to their town, called a meeting of the Chiefs of the *Mingoes*, the *Shawanese*, and the *Ganaway* (*Conoy*) *Indians*, at which he reminded them of the friendship that subsisted between them and the government, of the favours he had done them, how he had gone to *Virginia* to serve them, and at their request removed one *John Grist* from a settlement he had made beyond the *Susquehannah*, and had strictly forbidden any person whatever from taking up lands or settling there without his leave, &c. In the close of his speech, he informed them of the news he had heard of their going to war, and absolutely forbade them to go.

“Hereupon the *Indians* called a Council, and having agreed upon an answer, met the Governor next day; and *Civility*, their Chief, having, in the name of the *Indians*, thanked the Governor for the pains he had taken to serve them, and expressed the confidence they had in the Government, declaring that though their warriors were intended against the *Catawbas*, yet as the Governor disapproved of their going to war, they should be immediately stopped: After which he proceeded to say, ‘That when the Proprietor, *William Penn*, came into this country, *forty years ago*, he got some person at *New York* to purchase the lands on *Susquehannah* from the Five Nations, who pretended a right to them, having conquered the

people formerly settled there : That when *William Penn* came from *New York* he sent for them to hold a Council with him at *Philadelphia*, and showed them a parchment, which he told them was a right to those lands; that he had purchased them from the Five Nations, for which he had sent a great many goods in a vessel to *New York*; that when the *Conestogoes* understood he had bought their land, they were sorry; upon which *William Penn* took the parchment and laid it upon the ground, saying to them, that it should be in common among them, viz.; the *English* and the *Indians*; that when *William Penn* had after that manner given them the same privilege to the land as his own people, he told them he would not do as the *Marylanders* did, by calling them children or brothers only; for often parents would be apt to whip their children too severely, and brothers sometimes would differ; neither would he compare the friendship between him and the *Susquehannah Indians* to a chain, for the rain might sometimes rust it, or a tree fall and break it; but he said the *Indians* should be esteemed by him as his people, as the same flesh and blood with the Christians, and the same as if one man's body was to be divided in two parts.' After they had made so firm a league with *William Penn*, he gave them that parchment, (here *Civility* held a parchment in his hand) and told them to preserve it carefully for three generations, that their children might see and know what then passed in Council, as if he remained himself with them to repeat it, but that the fourth generation would both forget him and it.

"*Civility* presented to the Governor the parchment in his hand, to read; it contained articles of friendship and agreement made between the Proprietary and them, and confirmed the sale of lands made by the Five Nations to the Proprietary."

The Governor's answer to this is, as follows:

"I am very glad to find that you remember so perfectly the wise and kind expressions of the great and good *William*

Penn towards you; and I know that the purchase which he made, of the lands on both sides of the *Susquehannah*, is exactly true as you tell it; only I have heard farther, that when he was so good to tell your people that, notwithstanding that purchase, the lands should still be in common between his people and them, you answered, that a very little land would serve you, and thereupon you fully confirmed his right by your own consent and good will, as the parchment you showed me fully declares."

The remainder of these proceedings has no relation whatever to the object of this Memoir.

In the same pamphlet Mr. Thomson relates that at a treaty held at Philadelphia in 1727, between Governor Gordon and the deputies of the Five Nations, the Indian speaker *Tanne-whannegah* informed the Governor, "that the first Governor of this place, *Onas* (William Penn) when he first arrived here sent to desire them to sell lands to him;* that they answered they would not sell it now, but they might do it in time to come; * * * * that when the Governort was at Albany, he had spoken to them to this purpose: well, my brethren, you have gained the victory, you have overcome these people, and their lands are yours; we shall buy them of you. * * * * The warriors then delivered their message to the Chiefs, who have now sent us to let the Governor know that they are willing to proceed to a sale."†

Mr. Smith, in the notes that we have frequently cited, does not make mention of the conference first related by Mr. Thomson, nor have we been able to find the source from whence he obtained it; but we have no doubt it was authentic, for we do not know that it has ever been denied or controverted. However that may be, we are convinced that

* The lands of the *Susquehannah* Indians, 2 Smith's L. P. 112.

† Gov. Keith in 1722, Smith, *ibid.*

‡ An Inquiry &c., p. 11.

it contributed not a little to the general opinion which connected the great treaty with the purchase of lands. But if we compare the two statements made by the Indians in 1722 and 1727, we must be sure that they cannot both be true; for while *Civility* says, that William Penn purchased the Susquehannah lands of the Five Nations at New York on his first arrival *forty years ago*, which refers precisely to the year 1682, and relates a long story about a large parchment roll containing the evidence of that purchase, *Tannewhannegah*, on the contrary, affirms that those Indians refused to sell the lands at that time, but said they might do it at a future day. It is impossible to reconcile these two statements.

The true history of this transaction is given us by Mr. Smith in his excellent notes above mentioned. It was on the second arrival of William Penn to this country, in 1699, that his friend and agent Colonel Dongan purchased the right of the Five Nations to the Susquehannah lands, and conveyed them to William Penn,* who obtained a confirmation of that purchase in 1701, as has been above mentioned. *Civility*, therefore, committed an error in point of date, and confounded the purchase in 1701 with William Penn's first arrival here in 1682. When the Proprietor came here for the first time, Colonel Dongan had not arrived at New York, of which he was appointed Governor to succeed Sir Edmund Andros, who had been recalled. Dongan received his appointment on the 30th September, 1682, (after William Penn's departure,) and arrived at New York, Chalmers says, in October, Smith in August following. In the mean time the government was administered by one Brockholst,† of whom nothing is recorded, and with whom William Penn does not appear

* 2 Smith's L. P. 111.

† Some write his name *Brockhurst*, others *Brockholes*; Chalmers writes it *Brockholes*. His real name was *Brockholst*.

to have had any acquaintance.* His was a mere temporary administration.

We must then be convinced that the purchase of the Susquehannah lands, and the exhibition of the great roll of parchment, relate to the treaty of 1701, with which we have nothing to do, our object being only the great treaty of 1682, under the Elm Tree. We shall now proceed with the historians.

Mr. Gordon, whose History of Pennsylvania has not been appreciated as it deserves, adopted Clarkson's relation in the text of that valuable book.† But subsequent investigations made him change his opinion, and in a very interesting body of notes, subjoined to his work, he expresses his conviction that the great treaty was *not* connected with any land purchase. "For," says he, "several of these deeds (the deeds evidencing Indian purchases) if not all of them, have been given to us by Mr. Smith, in his excellent treatise on the land laws. He does not mention the treaty under the Elm, and the reason is, obviously, because it was unattended and unconnected with any deed, and no written memorial, other than the minutes of the conference had been taken."‡

Mr. Gordon, however, has not been able to get over the notion of the *great parchment roll*; for he says a little above§ that "the treaty, (the great treaty,) containing covenants of protection and kindness, was executed and delivered to the Indians, and was by them carefully preserved at least forty years before its exhibition to Governor Keith, and may possibly be in the possession of their descendants." This is in direct contradiction with what the author says afterwards, that "no memorial of that treaty was preserved, other than

* Chalmers, 584; Smith's History of New York, 58; Ebeling's New York, 54.

† Gordon, 74, 75.

‡ Ibid. Append. note O. pp. 602—4.

§ p. 604.

the minutes of the conference." But it is evident that Mr. Gordon had Charles Thomson's relation and the speech of Civility before his eyes, and was not aware that that Indian Chief had committed a mistake in point of date, which a closer investigation has enabled us to point out and to correct. The parchment roll exhibited to Governor Keith, had no connexion with the treaty of 1682.

Ebeling is very cautious on this point. He says that William Penn found means to acquire the favour of the Indians, not only by solemn conferences and treaties, but by friendly visits and conversations in their own language, assisting at their festivals, making them presents, &c.* He afterwards speaks of his purchasing lands of them, but takes care not to connect those transactions with *treaties*, in which he appears to have been more cautious than most of those who preceded and followed him.

Having now shown the various relations and opinions of the historians on the subject of this treaty, we shall take a view of the land purchases, in order to show that there is none, the memory of which has come down to us, which can by any fair reasoning be connected with the great treaty under the Elm Tree. We trust that we have so disposed of the Susquehannah purchase (which hitherto has been the stumbling-block of our annalists and historians,) as to afford the clearest conviction of its being entirely unconnected with that treaty.

The first treaty† for the purchase of lands that we find on record, is that made by Markham in 1682, before the arrival

* Ebeling's Pennsylvania, c. 3, see the translation in 1 Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, p. 353.

† The word *treaty* is used indiscriminately for every transaction with the Indians, whether it relate to amity and friendship, to the regulation of commerce and general intercourse, to land purchases or even to conferences on any subject whatsoever. Hence has arisen much of the confusion and uncertainty which has so long prevailed respecting the *great treaty*.

of William Penn in this country. The deed of conveyance of the land purchased is dated on the 15th of July, and on it is endorsed a confirmation dated the 1st of August following. The substance of these deeds is given to us by Mr. Smith, in his notes above cited,* and a full copy from the original, which we have seen is in the possession of the President of the Society,† to whom it was sent by Redmond Conyngham, Esq. We would recommend the printing of these documents in our memoirs, as they may serve to illustrate historical facts. We have remarked that in this transaction, William Markham alone appears as acting for the proprietor, and that his commissioners, who must have been in the country at the time, take no part in it. They may, however, have been parties to the negotiation, though not to the deeds.

The tract of land purchased is said by Gordon and by Smith to have been *inconsiderable*,‡ so that it could not have been the object of *confirmation* at the great treaty. Besides, the deeds show that it was paid for by Markham at the time of the purchase, and therefore the transaction was complete. It seems that pains had been taken to obtain the signatures of all those who claimed to be owners of the land. Therefore we may safely say that it had nothing to do with the treaty under the Elm Tree.

The land thus purchased lies on the banks of the Delaware within the great bend of that river, between the falls opposite to Trenton and the Neshaminy. How far it extended in the interior, the description does not enable us to say, as it refers to places the names of which have been long since forgotten. It was there that Markham fixed the dwelling place of the proprietor, which was called *Pennsbury Manor*. The house was begun to be built before William Penn arrived.

It is very probable that William Penn had fixed upon that

* 2 Smith's L. p. 109.

† The late lamented William Rawle, Esq.

‡ Smith, 110. Gord. 74.

spot himself, and given instructions to Markham to purchase it for him for his residence, and that of the friends by whom he wished to be surrounded. It was opposite to the flourishing settlement of the Quakers at Burlington, and it is known that Quaker families had begun at that time to settle in numbers on both sides of the river in that neighbourhood.* It was natural, therefore, that our great founder should wish to place himself in the vicinity of his co-religionists. It was a *homestead* for him that Markham was instructed to purchase. And there is reason to believe that it was intended to make it the seat of government.†

William Penn arrived on the 24th of October, 1682. It does not appear that any other purchase had been made for him at that time. Nor does he appear to have entered into a negotiation with the Indians for any purchase until six or seven months afterwards, that is to say, in May, 1683, as we have already mentioned. This is very easy to understand. His first object on his arrival must have been to conciliate the favour of the natives, by friendly conferences, by mutual promises—in short, by treaties of amity and friendship. To have shown immediately an extraordinary avidity for their lands, would, rather than promote, have tended to defeat that most important object.

He, then, waited until May, before he entered into a negotiation with them for that purpose. It was hardly begun, when he was suddenly called away to a conference with Lord Baltimore. It was, therefore, interrupted; so that the deed of his purchase is only dated in June.‡ The lands that he

* Proud. Smith's New Jersey, &c.

† The venerable Samuel Preston, of Stockport, Wayne county, formerly of the county of Bucks, saw, many years ago, in the Surveyor General's office, in Bucks county, an original draught of the city, to be built at Pennsbury, of an older date than the plan by Holmes, and signed by Phineas Pemberton.—*Barker's Discourse before the Penn Society*, p. 30, in note, quotes Preston MS.

‡ 23d June. 2 Smith, 110.

purchased were contiguous to those acquired by Markham, and lay between the Neshaminy and the Pennamapeck, now Pennypack creek. He wished to draw his possessions nearer to his city of Philadelphia, the building of which had already commenced, and was fast advancing.

As this purchase is posterior to the year 1682, it can have no possible connexion with the great treaty, and in the interval between these two transactions, we not only find no record, but no mention made any where of any other acquisition from the Indians. We must necessarily believe there were none. We, of course, need not look further to subsequent purchases, as they can have no relation to our subject.

It has been supposed that the great treaty under the Elm Tree might have been held for the purchase of the land on which Philadelphia now stands. This is a mere supposition, unsupported by any testimony. It deserves, however, to be considered.

It must be recollected that at the time of the first arrival of William Penn, the country lying on the western banks of the river Delaware had been settled upon by Europeans for more than forty years. The successive governments who had possession of the territory, had purchased lands from the Indians, and granted them to individual settlers. The Swedes had their church at Wicacoa, and were chiefly settled in its vicinity. Their titles to the land they occupied, were of long standing; they had been confirmed by the English Governors under the Duke of York, and were so afterwards by William Penn himself. They were respected by the Indians, who had been accustomed to live with those strangers, between whom and themselves perfect harmony existed. It was a romantic idea of those times, that the whites and the red men might live together like brothers on the same soil. The Indians believed it, because they had no conception of the exclusive possession of more land than one might usefully

occupy, and even that they were much disposed to consider as common.* Hence, when William Penn arrived, the Indians and the whites lived promiscuously together, the wigwam rose by the side of the Christian's dwelling, and this accounts for what William Penn is said by Civility to have told the Susquehannah Indians, at the treaty of 1701, that they should hold the valley of Susquehannah *in common*, which no doubt William Penn at that time sincerely believed, and, indeed, that state of things was well suited to a sparse population; but as the numbers of the whites increased, its inconvenience was more and more felt, and a new order of things took place, which gradually drove the poor Indians from the land.

It is a well-authenticated fact, that William Penn purchased of the three Brothers Swanson,† in exchange for other

* An anecdote is related by Heckewelder, which shows what were the notions of the Indians at that time in respect to property. "Some travelling Indians," says he, "having in the year 1777, put their horses over night to pasture in my little meadow, at Gnadenhutzen, on the Muskingum, I called on them in the morning to learn why they had done so. I endeavoured to make them sensible of the injury they had done me, especially as I intended to mow in a day or two. Having finished my complaint, one of them replied: "My friend, it seems you lay claim to the grass my horses have eaten, because you had enclosed it with a fence: now tell me, who caused the grass to grow? Can you make the grass grow? I think not, and nobody can, except the great Manitto. He it is who causes it to grow, both for my horses and for yours! See, friend! the grass which grows out of the earth is common to all; the game in the woods is common to all. Say, did you never eat venison and bears' meat?" "Yes, very often." "Well, and did you ever hear me or any other Indian complain about that?" "No." "Then be not disturbed at my horses having only eaten once of what you call *your* grass, though the grass my horses did eat, in like manner as the meat you did eat, was given to the Indians by the Great Spirit. Besides, if you will but consider, you will find that my horse did not eat *all* your grass. For friendship's sake, however, I shall never put my horses in your meadow again."—Heckeweld. *Manners and Customs of the Indians*, in 1 *Hist. Trans. A. P. S.* p. 86.

† The names of these three brothers were Andries (Andrew) Swen and Wolle Swenson, which has been converted into Swanson. Some writers

lands, about 300 acres, *in the place where it was judged most convenient that the city should be built,** which is the ground on which it now stands. Acrelius says, that it was 360 acres,† which may be true, including the usual allowance made for roads, &c. Now we calculate that this quantity of land would extend to a mile in length (say on the Delaware) and half a mile in breadth towards Schuylkill, which gives the whole length of the city proper, and a space in breadth, which was not all built upon for more than a century afterwards, and is not even now entirely covered with buildings. There was no need, therefore, of a purchase of this territory from the Indians.

The ground on which the Liberties now stand, was also the property of the Swedes. We have reason to believe that at the time of the arrival of William Penn, the neck of land formed by the confluence of the Delaware and Schuylkill, and that at some distance above and below, was more thickly inhabited than any other part of the province, except, perhaps, the English settlements near the falls opposite Trenton, and those of the Dutch in the lower counties. This part of the country was called the freshes of Delaware, and was inhabited by the Swedes,‡ mixed with some English in the lat-

say Swan's Sons; and Ebeling himself calls them Swens Söhner, but this is a mistake. In a map of Pennsylvania by John Thornton and Robert Green, published in England before 1718, and dedicated to William Penn, then living, we find the land at Wicacoa marked as the property of these three brothers. So that they had reserved that out of the sale they made to the proprietor. There is a street in Southwark still called by their name, *Swanson Street.*

* See the Swedes' Petition to the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania—the Governor's letter thereupon to the Commissioners of property, and their report in answer to the same. Philadelphia, printed by Andrew Bradford, at the Bible, in the Second street, 1722. 8 pp. folio. The Commissioners were Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, and James Logan. [This document is in the possession of J. Francis Fisher.]

† Acrel. 119.

‡ 1 Clarks. 309.

ter times. The Island of Tinicum, the seat of the Swedish government, is at no great distance from this city. It was natural that the Swedish settlers should fix their residence in its vicinity. Campanius informs us, that Passyunk was granted by Queen Christina to Capt. Swen Schute, in consideration of his services;* and we find in the Swedish records in the possession of the Philosophical Society, a royal grant to the same individual, dated in the year 1653, of Mockorhulhig Kill, Alharokungh, Aronametz Kill, (places the situation of which we cannot now discover) and also *Kinsessing*, which has preserved the same name to this day, and cannot have been far from the other places named.

Of what took place under the Dutch Government we can say nothing, having had no access to their records; but we find much information in the ample extracts from those of the court held at Upland, under the government of the Duke of York's representative at New York, between the years 1676 and 1681, which are in the possession of this Society. They are full of applications to the local authorities for leave to take up lands for settlement in this part of the country, on the west side of the Delaware and east side of the Schuylkill; and there are even suits against those who disturb the possession of the old settlers. There is a petition from Lawrence Cock and 23 others, for leave to build a town somewhere below the falls. Lasse Andries and three others, inhabitants of Moyamensing, ask leave to take up each 25 acres of marsh or meadow land in their neighbourhoods. In 1678 Lawrence Cock acknowledges a deed in open court, by which he conveys to Elizabeth Kinsey 300 acres of land in Shackamaxon.

All those lands had been purchased, either by the successive governments or by the settlers themselves, who appear to have occasionally made purchases of the Indians. Each

* Campan. N. Sweden, in 3d Mem. Hist. Soc. 80.

successive government claimed the right to confirm the title of the owners and give them new patents. The Governors under the Duke of York claimed and exercised that right, and William Penn and his successors did the same.

Mr. Redmond Conyngham, in one of his interesting notes on the early history of Pennsylvania,* states that he received from E. C. Reigart, Esq. a member of the House of Representatives of this state, the following information:

"I find," (says Mr. Reigart) "a treaty made on the 15th of June, 1682, at the house of Capt. Lasse (Lawrence) Cock, for land on the Delaware, extending westward a considerable distance; beginning at a white oak on land in the tenure of John Wood, and by him called Grey Stones. The Indians were of the Delaware nation. Capt. Lasse Cock resided at Shackamaxon."

Mr. Conyngham adds that he sent a copy of that treaty to William Rawle, Esq. the President of this Society. We have seen that copy, which is no other than the deed of conveyance by certain chiefs of the Delaware nation to William Penn, through his agent Markham, for the Pennsbury tract of land in Bucks county, which we have already mentioned, the substance of which is given in Mr. Smith's note on the Land Laws of Pennsylvania:† It is dated the 15th July, (not June) 1682; but no mention is made there of the house of Capt. Lasse Cock, nor is it said where the treaty or conference was held, or the conveyance executed. Mr. Reigart may have found what he states in some loose minutes that we have not seen.

Mr. Conyngham proceeds, on what authority we know not, and says: that in consequence of the heat and number of persons whom the house could not accommodate, the Indian conference was held under the Elm Tree, and the *treaty* signed at the house of Capt. Lasse or Lacy Cock. We pre-

* 15 Hazard's Register, 139.

† 2 Smith's L. P. 109.

sume it is his own conjecture, in which he falls into the common error of calling by the name of *treaty* the deed of conveyance for the lands sold. That the deed in this, and we believe, in every other case, was executed in a house, for the sake of convenience, we have not the least doubt, and if Mr. Reigart has had good authority for saying that in that case it was done at the house of Lawrence or Lasse Cock, as he was called, it corroborates our statement that the land in the vicinity of Philadelphia, above and below, was held and occupied by the Swedes. Nothing is more probable than that that conveyance was executed at the house of Lawrence Cock, and the conference held at Shackamaxon under the Elm Tree, and perhaps other trees that stood on the same spot. It accounts also for the subsequent treaties, that with William Penn after his first arrival, and that made in 1701, having been held in the same place, which, if we refer to its etymology, appears to have been a spot long before appropriated to such solemnities.

Mr. Heckewelder says that the name of this place, written as we now do *Shackamaxon*, signifies *the place of eels*, from *Schachamek*, the Indian name of that fish.* We have nothing to say against this etymology, if the first syllable of the word is to be pronounced with *Sh* or *Sch*. But when we turn to ancient records, which did not come to the knowledge of Mr. Heckewelder, we find it written with a single *S*, thus: *Sachamexing* or *Sachemexing*. This makes an important difference. The word *Sakima*, which we write and pronounce *Sachem*, means in the Delaware language a King or *Chief*; *ing*, is the Indian termination which indicates *locality*, or the place where. Thus *Sakimaxing* may be naturally explained by the place where the Chiefs meet or resort (for holding conferences or treaties.) The *x* before the syllable *ing* is there for euphony's sake, as *s* in Mr. Heckewelder's etymology. The introduc-

* 4 Trans. A. P. S. new series, 356.

tion of euphonic consonants is very frequent in the composition of Indian words.

This opinion of ours is strengthened by an entry that we find in the records of the local government at Upland, under the Duke of York, from which we extract what follows :

" At a meeting of the Commander and Justices at Upland, upon the news of the Simeco Indians coming down to fetch the Susquehanno that were among these River Indians, &c.

" March the 13th. Annoq. Dom. 1674.

CAPT. JOHN COLLIER, Commander.

MR. JOHN MOLL,

MR. PETER COCK,

MR. PETER RAMBO,

MR. ISRAEL HELM,

MR. LACE ANDRIES,

MR. OTTO ERNEST COCK,

} Justices.

" It was concluded upon the motions of Rinowehan, the Indian Sachomore, for the most quiet of the river, viz :

" That Captain Collier and Justice Israel Helm, go up to *Sachamexin*, (where at present a great number of Simico and other Indians are) and that they endeavour to persuade the Simicos, the Susquehannas and these River Indians, to send each a Sachomore or Deputy to his Honour the Governor at New York, and that Justice Israel Helm go with them, for to hear and receive his said Honour's resolutions and answer to their demands."

This shows Shackamaxon to have been a place of resort for the Indians of different Nations, no doubt to consult together and settle their mutual concerns, and while it comes in aid of our etymology of that name, it accounts for its having been chosen by Markham and William Penn after him, as the place for holding their successive treaties. It adds also no little importance to the locality of the great treaty under the Elm Tree.

We think, then, that there is no ground for saying that

the great treaty was made for the purchase of the soil on which Philadelphia now stands, which must long before have ceased to be claimed by the neighbouring Indians. Had there been a necessity for that purchase, William Penn would not have omitted to make it, and the deed of conveyance for it would be found amongst our records as well as that for the purchase of Pennsbury Manor made by Markham. The founder would not surely have built his great city of Philadelphia, in the face of Indian claimants, if he had not been certain that his title to the ground was not in any manner liable to be contested.

If we have satisfactorily proved, or at least shown it to be highly probable, that the great treaty was unconnected with the purchase of lands, it remains for us to show what that treaty was, when and with what tribes it was made, and what were the mutual engagements entered into by the contracting parties. We think it was nothing else than a treaty of amity and friendship, which William Penn on his arrival thought it necessary to make, to conciliate the favour of the Indian Nations. It is also our opinion that a similar treaty was made by Markham and the commissioners before Penn's arrival, at the same place, of which this was a solemn confirmation. We believe so, because the commissioners were expressly instructed to make such a treaty, and because the Historians agree in representing the great treaty as the confirmation of a former one, which could be no other than that made with the commissioners. It appears from Mr. Reigart's information that the deed for Pennsbury Manor was executed at Shackamaxon, at the house of Lawrence Cock. The treaty of friendship probably preceded the negotiation for that purchase, but cannot have been connected with it, because the purchase was made only from the Delawares and River Indians, as they were called, but it appears that other nations and tribes were parties to the treaty of friendship. And as Shackamaxon appears to have been a place of usual

resort for the Indian Chiefs, the probability is that this treaty and the confirmation of it by William Penn were made at the same place.

These treaties of friendship with the Indians, unconnected with land purchases, are not without examples in history. We have shown that before the arrival of William Penn, such a treaty took place between the natives and the Quaker inhabitants of Burlington. We have shown from Campanius that a similar one was made by the Swedish Governor Rising. And in our later annals we find a treaty made at Conestogo in July 1721* between Governor Keith and the Five Nations, who had sent a Deputation to meet him there, in which there is not the least mention made of the purchase of lands; but, except some trifling complaints of the Indians, as for instance, that some of the English traders had called their young men dogs, the whole treaty consists of mutual assurances and promises of friendship and friendly intercourse between the contracting parties. The Governor also exhorts them not to go to war with other Indians, as they intended.

The treaty is too long to be inserted here, besides that, it can be found at large in Proud's History, but a few lines from one of the speeches of Governor Keith, will give an idea of its character:

"You are in *league* with New York, as your ancient friends and nearest neighbours; and you are *in league with us, by treaties often repeated*, and by a chain, which you have now brightened. As therefore all the English are but one people, you are actually in league with all the English governments, and must equally preserve the peace with all, as with one government."[†]

We cannot refrain from adding here some part of what was said by the Indian Chiefs; we give it in the words of the

* 2 Proud, 139.

† Ibid. 138.

minutes of council from which the treaty was taken, which Proud has faithfully copied.

"They, (the Indians) assured the Governor that they had not forgot William Penn's *treaties* with them, and that his advice to them was still fresh in their memories. Though they cannot write, yet they retain every thing said in their councils with all the nations they treat with, and preserve it as carefully in their memories, as if it was committed, in our method to writing."*

It is much to be regretted, that the minutes of the great treaty and of that made with the commissioners have not been preserved, or if they have, are not at present to be found. We must therefore be contented to gather its contents from the best sources in our power.

We believe Mr. Clarkson's account of William Penn's address to the Indians at the great treaty, to be as near to the truth as any that is founded merely upon tradition. We, therefore, shall begin with inserting it.

"The Great Spirit" (said William Penn) "who made him and them, who ruled the Heaven and the Earth, and who knew the innermost thoughts of man, knew that he and his friends had a hearty desire to live in peace and friendship with them, and to serve them to the utmost of their power. It was not their custom to use hostile weapons against their fellow creatures, for which reason they had come unarmed. Their object was not to do injury, and thus provoke the Great Spirit, but to do good. They were then met on the broad pathway of good faith and good will, so that no advantage was to be taken on either side, but all was to be openness, brotherhood, and love. After these and other words, he unrolled the parchment, and by means of the interpreter conveyed to them, article by article, the conditions of purchase, and the words of the compact then made for their eternal

* 2 Proud, 132.

union. Among other things, they were not to be molested in their lawful pursuits even in the territory they had alienated, for it was to be common to them and the English. They were to have the same liberty to do all things therein relating to the improvement of their grounds, and providing sustenance for their families, which the English had. If any disputes should arise between the two, they should be settled by twelve persons, half of whom should be English and half Indians. He then paid them for the land, and made them many presents besides from the merchandise which had been spread before them. Having done this, he laid the roll of parchment on the ground observing again, that the ground should be common to both people. He then added, that he would not do as the Marylanders did, that is, call them children or brothers only; for often parents were apt to whip their children too severely, and brothers sometimes would differ; neither would he compare the friendship between him and them to a chain, for the rain might sometimes rust it, or a tree might fall and break it; but he should consider them as the same flesh and blood with the Christians, and the same, as if one man's body were to be divided in two parts. He then took up the parchment, and presented it to the Sachem who wore the horn in the chaplet, and desired him and the other Sachems to preserve it carefully for three generations, that their children might know what had passed between them, just as if he had remained himself with them to repeat it."

There is a great deal in this recital that bears internal evidence of truth, although we do not coincide with the writer in every thing that it contains. We reject, particularly, all that connects this transaction with the purchase of lands, for the reasons that we have already explained. The roll of parchment which makes so great a figure in this relation may have been the concessions or conditions, agreed upon in England between William Penn and his associates, which he had expressly directed his commissioners to read and explain to the Indians on treating with them, and which it is natural

to suppose he communicated to them himself, in order to show them in what spirit the friends were migrating to this country; his delivering it, however, to the Sachem to be preserved, we cannot bring ourselves to believe, as it was not natural that he should part with that document. The parchment, besides, according to Mr. Clarkson, contained the articles of their treaty of friendship, of which, we shall presently speak, and it would have been strange to mix these with an agreement for the purchase of lands, which, if there were not two counterparts, ought rather to have remained in the possession of the purchaser, than in that of the sellers. We, therefore, entirely disagree on these points from what Mr. Clarkson relates.

But as to the words which he puts in the mouth of the founder, we think they contain a great deal of what we must believe him to have actually said. It was natural that he should explain to the Indians the principles of the society of Friends, on the subject of bearing arms, and we may well suppose that he began his speech as Mr. Clark relates. Also that he should tell them, that the land which they had sold, or should sell to the whites, was to be held in common between them, and that both nations should be at liberty to occupy it for their lawful purposes. It is entirely in accordance with what we have said of the opinions of the Indians respecting property; and that this language was held by the proprietor, is fully ascertained by the speeches of the Governors of the colony, and those of the Indians in subsequent treaties.

What William Penn said, of the manner in which the Marylanders treated the Indians, was well calculated to estrange them from the people and government of that colony. Mr. Conyngham would have it, that he spoke not of the Marylanders, but of the Virginians;* because he supposes that the Mingoes who lived on the Susquehannah, and who there is

* 15 Hazard's Register, 139.

reason to believe, were parties to that treaty, had then lately migrated from Virginia, in consequence of some persecutions which they had experienced there. But we think we have sufficiently shown that those Indians had long resided in that part of the country, and besides, as the proprietor of Maryland, Lord Baltimore, claimed, if not the whole, at least a considerable part of the territory they occupied, it was quite natural that William Penn, who was with him on no very friendly terms, should speak of him and his people with some degree of asperity.

Mr. Clarkson says, that William Penn read to the Indians from the roll of parchment *article by article*, what he calls the *conditions of the purchase*. That the stipulations of the treaty were expressed in the form of successive articles, is a fact which cannot now admit of doubt, as we have it in our power to prove it by satisfactory evidence. At a treaty held at Conestogo, on the 26th of May, 1728, between Governor Gordon, and the chiefs of several nations of Indians, who then resided on the Susquehannah, the Governor in his address spoke to them as follows:

“ My Brethren! You have been faithful to your leagues with us! * * * * * Your leagues with William Penn, and his Governors *are in writing on record*, that our children and our children's children may have them in everlasting remembrance. And we know that you preserve the memory of those things amongst you, by telling them to your children, and they again to the next generation; so that they remain stamped on your minds, never to be forgot. The chief heads or strongest links of this chain, I find are these nine, to wit:

Art. 1st. That all William Penn's people or Christians, and all the Indians should be brethren, as the children of one father, joined together as with one heart, one head, and one body.

2nd. That all paths should be open and free to both Christians and Indians.

2^d. That the Doors of the Christians' houses should be open to the Indians, and the houses of the Indians open to the Christians, and that they should make each other welcome as their friends.

4th. That the Christians should not believe any false rumours or reports of the Indians, nor the Indians believe any such rumours or reports of the Christians, but should first come as brethren to inquire of each other; and that both Christians and Indians, when they have any such false reports of their brethren, they should bury them as in a bottomless pit.

5th. That if the Christians heard any ill-news, that may be to the hurt of the Indians, or the Indians hear any such ill-news, that may be to the injury of the Christians, they should acquaint each other with it speedily, as true friends and brethren.

6th. That the Indians should do no manner of harm to the Christians, nor to their Creatures, nor the Christians do any hurt to the Indians, but each treat the other as brethren.

7th. But as there are wicked people in all nations, if either Indians or Christians should do any harm to each other, complaint should be made of it by the persons suffering, that right might be done, and when satisfaction is made, the injury or wrong should be forgot, and be buried as in a bottomless pit.

8th. That the Indians should in all things assist the Christians, and the Christians assist the Indians against all wicked people that would disturb them.

9th. And lastly, that both Christians and Indians should acquaint their children with this league and firm chain of friendship made between them, and that it should always be made stronger and stronger, and be kept bright and clean without rust or spot, between our children and children's children while the Creeks and Rivers run, and while the Sun, Moon and Stars endure.

This is the only authentic account that we possess of the stipulations of the great treaty, and we are by no means satisfied with it. It appears to us to have been mutilated, as it contains but very general promises of hospitality, kindness and good neighbourhood, between the Indians and whites; we do not find in it the engagement mentioned in Mr. Clarkson's relation, and confirmed by the speech of Civility to Governor Keith, nor the answer to the latter, that the lands should be held *in common* between the two nations, nor, as Mr. Clarkson, relates that the Indians and the whites should have *the same* liberty to do all things relating to the improvement of their grounds, and providing sustenance for their families; this last covenant is vaguely and obscurely expressed by the second article "that all paths shall be open and free to both Christians and Indians." This we have no doubt was explained by the founder, otherwise than by an Indian metaphor, which in our language may receive any interpretation. Indeed Governor Gordon does not pretend that the nine articles contain all the covenants between William Penn and the Indians; he only says they are the *principal ones*. It is much to be regretted that he did not give the whole; but as he did not choose to do so, we are obliged to make up the deficiency from other sources, which we think may be done by taking together these nine articles, with the conference between Civility and Governor Keith, and Mr. Clarkson's relation, from all which we may obtain a pretty correct idea of the stipulations of the great treaty.

The most important part of the speech of Governor Gordon, is his acknowledgment that the *leagues*, as he calls them, between the Governors of Pennsylvania, and the Indians, are *in writing on record*. What has become of those records? They are not to be found in the minutes of the Provincial Council at Harrisburg; yet we know they have existed, and the question recurs, where are they?

It has been suggested, that the last Provincial Governors,

on leaving Pennsylvania, have carried with them a great number of valuable records: we believe this to be a base and unfounded calumny, and the best proof we can give of it, is that several valuable documents, which, under the Colonial government must have made part of the public archives, have been found here in private hands, and there can be no doubt but that much dilapidation did take place, on the change of government, and at the frequent removals of the state authorities. It is possible, however, that the proprietary family may have retained some papers, which they thought interesting only to themselves, as evidences of the noble conduct and admirable life of their great ancestor: if such should be the case, we have no doubt that our venerated friend and philanthropist Granville Penn, Esq.* will freely communicate those documents to this society, whose views and feelings he well knows to be congenial with his own.

The point that we have found the most difficult to settle in the course of this investigation, is the precise date of the great Treaty; and we are by no means certain that we have succeeded in discovering it; certainly not to a day, or even a week. We will, however, freely communicate the result of our researches.

The ambiguity of the language of Mr. Proud, of which we have above taken notice, has induced a general belief that this treaty was made after the return of William Penn from his visit to Lord Baltimore. But we have many reasons that induce us to believe that the treaty was made before that period. When William Penn came here, he had six objects principally in view, and to which his first attention was to be directed. They were—

1. To organize his Government.

* Mr. Penn is the only surviving grandson of our illustrious founder. He bears a name not surpassed by any in the British peerage, which that name would grace, if the British nobility understood their true interest.

2. To visit his co-religionists on the shores of the Delaware in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.
3. To conciliate the Indians.
4. To pay his respects to the Governor of New York, who had had the command over Pennsylvania.
5. To fix upon a proper spot to build his capital city.
6. To visit Lord Baltimore, with whom he had differences respecting the limits of his province.

It is to be remarked, and much to the honour of our great Founder, that if the treaty took place before his journey to Baltimore, he accomplished all these things in little more than two months; for in January, he had been at New York and Maryland; had visited his friends on the way; he had organized his Government and held an Assembly at Chester, and his city of Philadelphia was located, and buildings begun to be erected upon it. This is a trait of his character that well deserves to be noticed.

Among those objects, that of conciliating the Indians was by no means the least important; and it is not to be presumed that William Penn postponed it to the last. For, after his return from Maryland, every thing else was done that we have mentioned. He had organized his Government at Chester, in December; he had before that visited New York and New Jersey, and on the way, no doubt, his friends on the Delaware; he had fixed upon the site of his new city, and had it located and surveyed; in short, all that remained was to treat with the Indians, and it would have been bad policy in him to have neglected them to the last moment. We cannot, therefore, suppose that he did so.

Another reason is, that on his return from Maryland, the winter had already set in, and it was a bad season to hold a treaty in the open air. If he could have done otherwise, he would not surely have chosen it. Now, he tells us himself that he met Lord Baltimore at West River, on the 19th of December. We learn from other sources, that after a con-

ference of three days, Lord Baltimore accompanied him on a visit to different parts of Maryland, and particularly to Choptank, on the other side of the Bay, where there was a meeting of the principal persons in the colony. All this must have taken time, and we do not find him returned to Chester, until the 29th of that month, which we learn by a letter which he wrote from thence to a friend under that date. The treaty, then, according to that supposition, must have been held in January, too late in the season, we should think, if it could have been done before. It is true that he describes that winter as pleasant, when compared with the same season in England. With that comparison we have nothing to do, but at the same time he says that it was the coldest winter that was known in this country within the memory of the oldest settlers,* which must carry us back to a period of at least forty years. The cold must have been, therefore, very intense, and the season not very eligible for holding a treaty in the open air, on the banks of the Delaware, under an Elm tree.

Mr. Gordon, in one of the notes to his history of Pennsylvania,† states “that the Indians, at a conference with Governor Keith, in 1722, exhibited the *roll of parchment containing the Treaty*, (meaning the *great Treaty* of 1682;‡) and it would seem, continues he, that a copy of the conference, at least, held at the making of this treaty, was once in the office of the Secretary of this Commonwealth, since Mr. R. Conyngham assures us that he discovered an envelope in a

* For the seasons of the year, having, by God's goodness, now lived over the *coldest* and hottest that the oldest liver in the province can remember, I can say something to an English understanding. *Letter to the free society of traders*, in 1 *Proud*, 248, and 1 *Clarkson*, 294.

† Gordon, 603.

‡ And yet Mr. Gordon, in the same note, page 604, gives it as his opinion; (in which we agree with him) “that there was no deed or memorial of the *great Treaty*, except the minutes of the conference.” So difficult it is to give up entirely old and inveterate prejudices.

bundle of papers there, relating to the Shawanese Indians, with the following endorsement: "Minutes of the Indian Conference in relation to the great Treaty made with William Penn, at the Big Tree, Shackamaxon, on the fourteenth of the tenth month, 1682."

We have written to Mr. Conyngham to obtain from him more particular information upon the subject, and here is his answer, dated the 12th of March last:

"The endorsement on the envelope which you found in page 603, of Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, is a faithful copy of the original (I believe) at Harrisburg. I made some inquiry as to the circumstance of its being thus found in the closet, and received the following information. Some years since, the Indian treaties were transcribed in a book for their better preservation, and this envelope of one of them was carefully folded up, and placed in the closet with the historical papers. The Indian treaty said to have been contained in this envelope, is dated June 15th, 1682, and was the result of a conference held under the Elm tree at Shackamaxon, between William Markham, the commissioners of William Penn (William Crispin, John Bezar and Nathaniel Allen) and the Shackamaxine tribes of Indians. The treaty was in the open air, but signed* in Capt. Lassee Cocke's house, fronting the Delaware, in Shackamaxon. The land granted was to begin at a white oak, on the ground in the tenure of John Wood, called by him Grey Stones.† The minutes of the conference in June, and also those of the conference in December, 1682, are not to be found."

From the facts above stated, Mr. Conyngham has concluded that the great Treaty was held on the 14th of December, 1682, and others have shared in his opinion. We

* This, we presume, was the language of the clerks at Harrisburg, but it can mean nothing else than that the *deed* for the lands was *executed* at the house of Lassee Cocke, which is very probable.

† This is the description of the Pennsbury tract, and therefore must refer to Markham's purchase.

would not object to that date, if it was not proved by William Penn himself to be impossible. In his letter to the Lords of plantations above cited,* he tells us that the 19th of December was the day agreed upon between him and Lord Baltimore for their meeting at West river, on the western shore of Maryland. In the same letter, almost in the same breath, he says—"The *eleventh* of the month I *came* to West river, where I met the Proprietor, attended suitably to his character."† This at first appears contradictory, but it may be easily reconciled by supposing that William Penn, who wrote a great deal, and was not very particular in the selection of his words, made use of the word *came* instead of *went* or *set out for*, a grammatical error not uncommon among fast speakers and fast writers. West river, twelve miles below Annapolis, lies at a considerable distance from Philadelphia, and the journey must have been performed by water as well as by land. It is natural to suppose, that anxious to be at the appointed place on the 19th, the day agreed upon, and considering the season, the uncertainty of the winds, the badness of the roads, and all the circumstances that might have impeded his progress, he chose to set out with his retinue in sufficient time to meet and overcome all the impediments that he might find on the road, and a week was not too long a time for that purpose. If, as he tells us, he left Philadelphia on the 11th, he must have been on the 14th on his way to Maryland, and could not have been at Shackamaxon to treat with the Indians. We must, therefore, reject that date, the envelope notwithstanding.

We, then, consider ourselves at liberty to fix the epoch of the great treaty, at such time as we shall think most consistent with probability, and we believe that to be on his return from New York, about the latter end of November. The season was then beautiful, as is generally the fall season in

* See above page.

† 1 Proud, 268.

our country. His journey lasted about a month, and he had sufficient time to go to New York and Long Island, visit his friends on the way in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and treat with the Indians on his return. On his departure from New Castle, his friend Markham had full time to give notice to the chiefs to meet him at Shackamaxon; in short, by adopting this period, we find ourselves free from the objections that meet us at every step in choosing any other. It is possible that documents may yet be discovered, which will induce us to alter this opinion; but until then we do not think that we can offer a better.

As to the Indian tribes that met William Penn, at this famous treaty, our opinion is that they were those called the River Indians, chiefly if not all, of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware stock. To these must be added the Mingoes and other Susquehannah tribes, who came to solicit his protection; they must have formed, together, a very respectable assemblage.

Of the ceremonies of the treaty, we have a full and very satisfactory account by William Penn himself, in his letter to the free traders,* leaving out only what relates to the purchase of lands. It is the form in which the Indians hold their most solemn treaties and conferences. The same is also described by Campanius, and by other writers.

It will be in vain to look for a record of this Treaty and of the stipulations that it contained, elsewhere than in the minutes of that conference, if ever they should chance to be discovered. It is certain that they have existed, and that they were in the possession of Governor Gordon in 1728, otherwise, he could not have cited from them literally nine articles, which it is impossible not to believe to have been a part of the great Treaty.

But no one must expect ever to see a parchment roll signed and executed by all the parties. It was not the way in which

* 1 Proud, 257.

1 Clarke. 305.

treaties were made at that time, or at any time with the Indians. They could neither read nor write; they trusted to our records and their own strong retentive memories, assisted by means peculiar to them. We regret that we cannot make a more splendid display on this occasion. We leave that to the painter and to the poet, who, no doubt, will for a long time hereafter employ their pencil and their pen to this noble theme. We hope that the memory of the great Treaty, and of our illustrious Founder, will remain engraved on the memory of our children and our children's children to the end of time.

APPENDIX.

AT A COUNCIL HELD AT THE INDIAN TOWN CONESTOGOE,

May 26th, 1728.

PRESENT,

The Honourable PATRICK GORDON, Esq. Lieutenant Governor,
Some Members of Council, and divers other Gentlemen.

PRESENT ALSO,

GANYATAROUGA,
JAWENNA,
JANNEATCHEARE,
LAQUATARENSALY, ALIAS
CAPTAIN CIVILITY,

} Chiefs of the Conestogo Indians.

AHOLYKON,
PEAYEASHICKON,
WIKIMIKYOUA,
ITOWICKYOMA,

} Chiefs of some of the Delaware
Indians on Brandywine.

SKAYAUANNEGO,
ONNEYGHEAT,
NANAMAKAMEN,
PEAYHISHINAS,

} Chiefs of the Ganawiss Indians.

WEYSOW WALOW,
KEYSEYKAKALOW,
NIGHTAMSKAKOW,

} Chiefs of the Sawanese.

SHAKAWTAWLIN,	{ Or some Interpreter from the English into the Delaware.
CAPTAIN CIVILITY,	{ Interpreter from the Delaware into the Shawanese and Mingoe, (alias Conestogoe.)
POMAPUHTOA,	{ Interpreter from the Delaware into the Ganawese Language.
MR. NICHOLAS SCULL, MR. JOHN SCULL, MR. PETER BIZALLION.	

THE GOVERNOR SPOKE AS FOLLOWS:

My Friends and Brethren,

You are sensible that the Great William Penn, the Father of this country, when he first brought the People with him over the Broad Sea, took all the Indians, the old Inhabitants, by the hand, and because he found them to be a sincere honest People, he took them to his heart, and loved them as his own. He then made a strong League and Chain of Friendship with them, by which it was agreed that the Indians and the English, with all the Christians, should be as one people.

Your Friend and Father William Penn, still retained a warm affection for all the Indians, and strictly commanded those whom he sent to govern this people, to treat the Indians as his children, and continued in this kind love for them until his death.

His Sons have now sent me over in their stead, and they gave me strict charge to love all the Indians as their Brethren, and as their Father. William Penn loved you. I would have seen you before this time, but I fell sick soon after I came over and continued so till the next Spring. I have waited to receive some of the Five Nations, who came to see me at Philadelphia, and last fall heard you were all gone out a hunting.

I am now come to see you, and renew the ancient friendship,

which has been between William Penn's people and you. I was in hopes that Sassoonan and Opekasset with their people, would have been likewise here: they have sent me kind messages, and have a warm love for the Christians. I believe they will come to me at Philadelphia; for since they could not get hither I have desired them to meet me there.

I am now to discourse with my Brethren, the Conestogoes, Delawares, Ganawese, and Shawanese Indians upon the Susquehannah, and to speak to them.

My Brethren,

You have been faithful to your leagues with us, your hearts have been clean, and you have preserved the chain from spots or rust, or if there were any, you have been careful to wipe them away; your leagues with your Father William Penn, and with his Governors, are in writing on record, that our children and our children's children may have them in everlasting remembrance. And we know that you preserve the memory of those things amongst you, by telling them to your children, and they again to the next generations, so that they remain stamped on your minds never to be forgot.

The chief heads or strongest links of this chain, I find are these nine, viz:

1st. That all William Penn's people or Christians, and all the Indians should be Brethren, as the children of one Father, joined together as with one Heart, one Head, and one Body.

2d. That all Paths should be open and free to both Christians and Indians.

3d. That the Doors of the Christians' Houses should be open to the Indians, and the Houses of the Indians open to the Christians, and that they should make each other welcome as their Friends.

4th. That the Christians should not believe any false rumours or reports of the Indians, nor the Indians believe any such rumours or reports of Christians, but should first come as Brethren to inquire of each other; and that both Christians and Indians, when they have any such false Reports of their Brethren, they should bury them as in a bottomless pit.

5th. That if the Christians heard any ill news, that may be to the hurt of the Indians, or the Indians hear any such ill news, that may be to the injury of the Christians, they should acquaint each other with it speedily, as true Friends and Brethren.

6th. That the Indians should do no manner of harm to the Christians, nor to their creatures, nor the Christians do any hurt to the Indians, but each treat the other as Brethren.

7th. But as there are wicked people in all nations, if either Indians or Christians should do any harm to each other, complaint should be made of it by the persons suffering, that right may be done, and when satisfaction is made, the injury or wrong should be forgot, and be buried as in a bottomless pit.

8th. That the Indians should in all things assist the Christians, and the Christians assist the Indians against all wicked people that would disturb them.

9th. And lastly, that both Christians and Indians should acquaint their Children with this league and firm chain of friendship made between them, and that it should always be made stronger and stronger, and be kept bright and clean without rust or spot, between our children and children's children, while the Creeks and Rivers run, and while the Sun, Moon and Stars endure.

And for the confirmation on our parts of all these several articles, we bind them with these several parcels of goods, viz:

20 Strowd Match Coats,	1 cwt. Gun Powder,
20 Duffells,	2 cwt. of Lead,
20 Blankets,	500 Flints,
20 Shirts,	50 Knives.

No. 1.

WILLIAM PENN'S LETTER

TO THE

INHABITANTS OF PENNSYLVANIA,

PREVIOUS TO HIS DEPARTURE FROM ENGLAND FOR THIS COUNTRY.

Communicated by Benjamin Chew, Esq.—Read 2d May, 1836.

MY FRIENDS,

I wish you all happiness, here and hereafter. I have to let you know that it hath pleased God in his Providence to cast you within my lot and care. It is a business that, though I never undertook before, yet God has given me an understanding of my duty, and an honest mind to do it up-rightly. I hope you will not be troubled with your change and the king's choice, for you are now fixt, at the mercy of no Governour that comes to make his fortune great; you shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free, and, if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person; God has furnished me with a better resolution, and has given me his grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with, and in five months resolve, if it pleases God, to see you. In the mean time, pray, submit to the commands of my Deputy, so far as they are consistent with law, and pay him those dues that formerly you paid to the order of the Governor of New York, for my use and benefit. And so I beseech God to direct you

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in the way of righteousness, and therein prosper you and your children after you.

I am,

Your true friend,

WM. PENN.

London, 8th of the month
called April, 1681.

The letter is sealed with three seals, bearing the arms of the Penn family, impressed on red wax.

The direction which, as well as the letter, is in the handwriting of William Penn, reads thus: "For the inhabitants of Pennsylvania; To be read by my Deputy."

No. 2.

PETITION

OF THE INDIANS TO GOV. MARKHAM.

Communicated by B. Chew, Esq.—Read 2d May, 1836.

Wheras the selling of strong Lickors was prohibited in Pensilvenia, and not att New-Castell, we find it a greater ill convenien then before. Our Indians goeing down to New-Castell and ther bting Rom, and making them * more depoched than before (in spite of this prohibition.)

Therefore we whouse Name are heare under written doe desire that the prohibition may be taken off, and Rome and Strong Lickors may be sould (in the foressaid provence) as

* Here a word illegible.

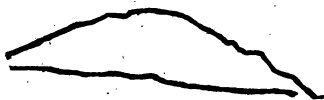
formerly, untill it be prohibited in New-Castell and in that
Governmt. of Deliware.

Pesienk in Pensilvenia.

5te Octob. 1681.

NANNE SEKA, his marke.

To the Govener and Counsell
of Pensilvenia.



KEKA KAPPAN, his marke.



JONG GORAS, his marke.



ESPON APE, his marke.



Note.—The mark of Keka Kappan is meant to represent
a tortoise; that of Jong Goras, a turkey; and that of Espo-
ape, a snake. Those were the usual signatures of the In-
dians. The meaning of that of Nanne Seka cannot be made
out. Perhaps it means a bow.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE, &c.

TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE two Portraits of Indian Chiefs, presented to our Society by Granville Penn, Esq. were painted in Pennsylvania, in the year 1737. They, with the small likeness of Governor Gordon, are, it is probable, the productions of the same artist. It would be worth some pains to inquire for the name of this early Painter. If a native, he must have been the earliest that British America produced; but it is more likely that he was of European birth, and as we know that there was in this city, at an early date, a Swede named Cecilius, who painted a portrait of James Logan, and, a little later, an artist named R. Feke, who placed his name on a portrait painted in 1746, we may suppose these pictures now before us to have been the productions of one of these limners; for we cannot presume that our province could, at that date, have given encouragement to more numerous painters.

The Committee have but few facts to place before the Society, concerning these chiefs. It is to be regretted that Sassoonan or Nootimus, had not been selected for the Painter; of them History gives some few anecdotes; but of Lappawinsoe, and Tishcohan, Teshakomen, or Tishekunk, little more is known than that they signed, in 1737, the Treaty for the *Walking Purchase*; a treaty which the general consent of writers, following the account of Charles Thomson, in his

"Inquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians," represents to us as the most iniquitous transaction in the Annals of our Provincial Government.

They had treated with the Proprietaries John and Thomas, at Durham three years before, and after repeated conferences on the subject at Pennsbury, signed at Philadelphia, August 26th, 1737; (together with Nootimus, Monochyickon two of the principal Sachems, and many other Indians,) a release for an immense tract of land, extending on the Delaware from the Neshamany to far above the Forks of the River at Easton, and Westward, as far as a man could go in a day and a half.

This Committee do not consider it a part of their duty, to investigate the history of this purchase. Whether it was fraudulent in its terms, whether it was concluded with insignificant chiefs, who had no right to dispose of the lands of the Nation—and whether, if fair in its written terms, the manner in which the measurement was executed was unusual or unjust—(viz. by running instead of walking,) all these have been asserted, and the last is generally believed. On the other hand, the Penns, and James Logan, in their public statements and private letters, deny altogether the title of these Indians to the land. They claim it for the Proprietaries, under a Treaty made in 1686, with the ancestors or predecessors of these Indians. They claim it under a Release from the Deputies of the Five Nations, who were in Philadelphia in 1736, and who had full powers to dispose of any rights unceded by the Aborigines; for, be it observed, that the Delawares in 1742, unresistingly assent to the assertions of the Five Nations; that, being a conquered nation, they had no rights whatever to the country, but what they, their superiors, chose to yield to them.

In addition to this, James Logan repeatedly asserts that Nootimus and the others who have affixed their names to this

Deed, had not even the rights of old settlers, but were newcomers from Jersey, whose *pretended* rights were purchased for the sake of *peace and amity*; and, it may be noted that Nootimus, although one of the signers of the Deed of 1737, was the most prominent in 1741, among those who complained of the violation their rights by the intrusion of the whites; at the same time making a claim altogether inconsistent with the terms of the Treaty, even had its interpretation and the execution of the walk been in a manner the most favourable to the Aborigines.

In fine, the honest reputation of this Treaty depends upon the fact, whether these chiefs had or had not a Title to the lands conveyed—if they had, they must have been taken by surprise by the unusual rapidity of the walkers. If, as the Penns and James Logan assert, they had no rights, they had no cause of complaint.

Of Lappawinsoe we have been able to discover no farther notice in history. James Logan speaks of him in 1741 as an honest old Indian. His name, according to Heckerwelder, means, "he is gone away gathering corn, nuts, or any thing eatable," and he is classed among the chiefs of the Forks of Delaware.

Tasucamin seems to have moved to the West, and was met by Frederick Post, when he made his first journey to visit the Indians on the Ohio, in July 1758. His name is also found in Heckerwelder's Catalogue, and means, according to that authority, "he who never blackens himself," and on referring to his portrait, we may note the absence of the usual marks which are almost always to be found on the faces of the Indians.

Such is the whole result of the inquiries of this committee, although they have examined all the documents printed, and manuscript within their reach. They have only to regret that they have been able to give so little interest to their

Report, and that so little has been handed down to us of the history of the only two chiefs of Lenni Lennapi whose portraits have been preserved.

ROBERTS VAUX,
J. FRANCIS FISHER,
JOB R. TYSON.

A
MEMOIR
OF PART OF THE LIFE
WILLIAM PENN.

BY MR. LAWTON.

CONTRIBUTED BY GRANVILLE PENN, ESQUIRE.

Read at a meeting of the Council, August 29, 1834.

VOL. III.

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LETTER OF MR. PENN TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Stoke Park, Colebrook, May 29, 1834.

DEAR SIR—

I have the pleasure to send to you, as President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Mr. Lawton's brief Memoir of William Penn, which I mentioned in my last letter. I am very sorry that I am unfurnished with any particulars respecting the history of its estimable author; but it will be perceived, by the contents, that he was a person of considerable weight in his day, and moving in the highest political circle of his turbulent time.

I find in the printed tracts of the great Lord Somers, a reference to "*Mr. Lawton's papers at St. Germain's*;" from whence I conclude that the important *Memoirs*, projected by him in the accompanying article, or the materials from which they were to be drawn, passed to St. Germain's, after the retirement of James II. to the palace of that place.

I remain, dear sir,

With great regard,

Yours most faithfully,

GRANVILLE PENN.

WILLIAM RAWLE, ESQ.

Note by the Publishing Committee.—In a letter from William Penn to Roger Mompesson, who was Chief Justice of Pennsylvania in 1705, he refers him for domestic news to their "common friend C. Lawton;" it is probable that this was the author of the following Memoir.

MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM PENN.

I HAD the happiness to converse frequently, and as inwardly as if we had been Brothers, with Mr. Penn, almost thirty years before his Death; and during all that time, I constantly discovered in him an inexhaustible spring of benevolence towards all his fellow-creatures, without any narrow, or stingy regard to either Civil or Religious Partys.

And yet this best natured man was, whilst living, daily persecuted with groundless slaunders, and since his Death, his good name is not free from malicious attacks.

If only little people had of late handed about calumnies against him, I should have disregarded such Reports; But I have very often met with men of figure, as well amongst the Laity as the Clergy, who still, as it were, delight to spread opprobrious falsehoods concerning him.

This usage hath often provoked me to defend him in conversation, both in his lifetime, and since his decease; and is the motive which extorts from me (who cannot any longer bear this base, this ungrateful, and unchristian usage of the memory of so good a man) the publication of some few Transactions which I intended should have remained secret 'til after my own Death; because I design, having been thereunto pressed by several of my friends, to leave behind me, in the hands of a Person of Quality, with liberty to print them, whensoever it shall be adjudged seasonable, *Memoires*

which will give an account at large of several important matters which I can relate upon my own knowledge, and that more certainly and particularly than any body else, they having, many of them, passed through my own hands.

In those Memoires I shall likewise transmit to Posterity impartial characters of several Persons of distinction who have, since I have been capable of making observations, acted great Parts upon the Theatre of the British World.

Amongst them Mr. Penn will be sure to be one, as I shall have opportunity, so indeed I shall be under a sort of necessity *very pleasing to myself*, to mention him often with honourable regard.

I first became acquainted with Mr. Penn by mere accident.

The Summer after the Defeat of the Duke of Monmouth, he, as a Passenger in the Kensington Coach, took me up at Mr. Nyes (one of the Sons of the famous Philip Nye) who then lived at Brompton—What Discourse we had I can't recollect; but he conceived in the little time we were together so undeserved a good opinion of me (tho' I was not then much above five and twenty years old) that he pressed me, and made me promise to make him a visit at Holland House, where he then rented an apartment; and I would have kept that promise had not what follows happen'd.

Tho' I had been one of the few, perhaps too few State Whiggs who had been, as Mr. Penn himself was, against the Bill of Exclusion, yet I was not so upon the Principle of Passive Obedience, which principle (notwithstanding I think we ought not too easily to fall out with Kings, nor carry our resentments too far) I never did, nor don't now pretend to believe; and, therefore, being fully persuaded that the nature of our Legislature was in danger to be altered, if not totally overturn'd by the excessive use of the Writ called *Quo Warranto*, and our constitution to the utmost degree violated by K: James's taking the Customs before they were granted by

the Parliament (for, if a King of England can levy sixpence, without the consent of our Representatives, he may as justly and legally take all the rest) I was, upon the Duke of Monmouth's sending word that his chief purpose in coming over was to resettle our invaded Rights, and upon his assurance that he would leave his own Title entirely to the decision of a free Parliament, prevailed with to engage in his Design; which mis-carrying, I was, amongst others, secretly betrayed by the very Person his Grace sent to us, which coming soon to my knowledge, I thought fit (after I had first, *by night*, acquainted my friends who had engaged with him, with what that Man had done) to abscond in the Moorlands of Staffordshire, where I staid about three Months, but at last resolved to come up, and settle my Family at an house I had near Windsor, whilst I at the same time expected I must live in obscurity myself.

However, Providence was more favourable to me than I imagined; for, though I had no intimation that there was the least prospect of any thing of that nature coming out, a friend I had in London met me at Barnett with King James's first General Pardon, which was published that morning, and having read it over with that care which my own circumstances required, I found, tho' there were many excepting clauses in it, not one of them reach'd me.

Upon this I went openly, and settled myself, as well as Family, near Windsor; but never went once into the Castle, when the Court was there, 'till the second Summer after my dwelling in that Neighbourhood, and then the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience was published, and the aforesaid Mr. Nye's coming to apply to Mr. Penn to do him some service, Mr. Penn kindly took a great deal of pains, because - - - he had forgot my name-to enquire after me by description; and Mr. Nye at last guessing that he meant me, told him my name, and that I lived within two Miles of Windsor.

Upon this Mr. Penn charged Mr. Nye that, as he returned

to London, he would call upon me and tell me, the pains he had taken to find me out; and withal, by him, desired that, to make amends for not having come, according to my promise, to Holland House, I would call upon him at his Lodgings at Eaton.

Mr. Nye brought me this Message upon a Monday, and I was deliberating from that time to the Friday following, whether I should go to him, Mr. Penn, being then said to intermeddle publickly in matters of State; which he was not reckoned to do, when I went up to Town with him in the Kensington coach.

But on the Friday a friend, who was an old State Whigg, with whom I had been acquainted several years, coming to dine with me, I told him what message I had received, and what debates I had had within my own breast about it; and he advised me by all means to go to Mr. Penn, withal making me this compliment: you may do good by going, and you may trust to yourself that he will never be able to draw you into any thing that is ill.

Upon this advice and encouragement I went the next morning to Mr. Penn, who received me most courteously and engaged me to dine with him that day. But going with him in his chariot to Windsor, and he calling upon one Mr. Popple (since the Revolution Secretary as his son now is, to the Lords of Trade and Plantations,) Mr. Popple, who Mr. Penn was then bringing out of trouble, pressed Mr. Penn to dine with him, which Mr. Penn refused to do, unless Mr. Popple could engage me dine with him also.

Though that was the first time I ever spoke with Mr. Popple, I had heard of him at Bordeaux, where he merchandized, as a man of good, both acquired and natural parts, and of an excellent temper, and therefore I soon agreed to the proposal; and Mr. Penn going to the French Embassadours to solicit Mr. Popples business, he appointed me to meet him upon the terrass walk in the castle, which I did accordingly.

As we came from Eaton to Windsor, I freely, amongst other things, told Mr. Penn, that, though I was for liberty of conscience, I thought the King ill-advised to put out his Declaration of indulgence upon the dispensing power; to which Mr. Penn made no answer then, but many years after (upon what occasion I shall tell more at large before I have done) I came to know the reason of his silence, which was, because Mr. Penn had been himself against putting it out upon so unpopular a prerogative.

But to return to our meeting upon the terrass, when we had walked a little while and talked of common things, Mr. Penn said to me "friend Lawton I would not have taken so much pains to have found thee out, if I had not an inclination for thee, and they say I have some interest with the King; and therefore prithee tell me how I can employ it for thy good;" to which I fearing to be drawn into some things I might not like, replied, "Sir, my ill state of health confines me (as indeed it did) to a country life, and though my fortune is small I am contented with it," and so we began to talk of indifferent things, such as the fine prospect of the terrass walk, &c. But after a while it came into my mind that I would ask him to get Aaron Smith pardoned, and thereby hear his thoughts about Political mercy; which, God knows, few who have interest in Princes either understand the wisdom or benefit of, or ever incline to when they are in prosperity, and think they shall always remain in play; though Mr. Penn, as will appear more fully hereafter, did to the greatest degree imaginable, and therefore, upon my asking to get Aaron Smith pardoned, he, without hesitation promised me he would do it, if he could. I thanked him for his promise, for though I had not seen Aaron for some years, I then*

* I have since had reason enough to change my mind; for besides his other faults, Aaron took after the revolution a great deal of pains to ruin both Mr. Penn and me, and stuck not at telling the grossest falsehoods to my Lord Romney, (then Secretary of State,) in order to do it.

thought him (though I was neither of his religion, nor agreed with many of his notions in politics,) a brave fellow. Immediately after this, we closed with Mr. Barrillon (the then French Ambassador) and the late Duke of Montague, who were walking together on the terrass, and after two or three turns, Mr. Penn and I went to dine with Mr. Popple at his lodgings in Windsor.

After dinner as we were drinking a glass of wine Mr. Penn turning to him, told Mr. Popple that he had brought him such a man as he had never met with before. "I have just now asked him how I might do something for himself, and he hath desired me to get a pardon for another man;" and so Mr. Penn repeated at length what had passed between us upon the Terrass Walk, and then turning to me, he said, "though I will, at thy request, get, if I can, Aaron Smith's pardon, yet I desire thou wilt think of something wherein I can do a kindness for thyself." Upon that, I said I could tell him how he might prolong my life. Mr. Penn replied "I am no Physician, but prithee tell me what thou meanest?" and so I told him Jack Trenchard (for so we State Whiggs used to call him) who was afterwards Secretary of State, was abroad, and if he could get him leave to come home *with safety and honour*, the drinking, now and then, a Bottle with Jack Trenchard would make me so chearful that it would prolong my Life. To this Mr. Penn smilingly answered, "to shew thee I will not deny thee any thing thou canst reasonably ask I promise thee I will get him too a Pardon, if I can;" and after this we chatted half an hour, and so parted. In three weeks or a month he got Aaron Smith's pardon; and prevailing with my Lord Jefferies (then Lord Chancellor) to join with him, they in a short time obtained Mr. Trenchard's.

Though the engaging to use his endeavours to get Pardons for two men obnoxious as they were both then reckoned, and that at the request, and first motion of a man so little known to him as I was, may convince any unprejudiced

Person how compassionate Mr. Penn was in his nature ; yet I will, as a further proof, give an account of the third conversation I had with him.

He going to London, I soon followed him, and found out Aaron Smith, who was then purchasing his Pardon, by giving all that he was worth in the world, as he himself told me, to the man who was to procure it. I advised Mr. Smith to break off that Treaty, and told him I was come up in order to get it for nothing. He said that was impossible. I then told him it was by Mr. Penn. Aaron replied, several friends of his had pretended to have an Interest with Mr. Penn, and had undertaken to serve him that way, but that all their promises had come to nothing. Upon this I repeated to Mr. Smith what had passed between Mr. Penn and me about him, and protested if Mr. Penn broke his word with me, I would immediately break off the friendship I had so lately begun to contract with him ; and withal desired Mr. Smith to come to me the next day to settle such a Petition as Mr. Penn should deliver to the King. He came accordingly to my Lodgings the next Day, and we spent a great many hours in forming the Petition, resolving it should neither be too sneaking, nor too saucy. However, we left it harsh and unmannerly enough as will appear presently. After the Petition was settled, Mr. Smith wrote a civil Letter to Mr. Penn, and inclosed the Petition in it ; and the next Day I carried both to Holland House. When I came thither Mr. Penn was from home, and I took a walk in the Garden, whither Mr. Penn came to me as soon as he returned, and his first salutation was ; " Friend Lawton, I am glad to see thee, but I have ill news to tell thee ; for I mentioned thy friend Aaron Smith's pardon this morning to the King, and he was never so angry with me in his Life. He was ready to turn me out of his Closet, and said, six such men would put his three Kingdoms in a flame. Upon this I told him I was sorry for it, because I had brought him a Letter with a Petition to the King on-

closed in it; but now it was not worth while to give him either. He answered, however give me them; for I don't yet despair; there are *mollia tempora fandi*, and I will take an opportunity when the King is in a very good humour." So I gave him the Letter, and he read both that and the Petition; and when he had done, he told me, he would not present the Petition; "for, said he, the King may not like so much sturdiness, but Aaron's Letter to me is very civil, and I will read that to the King. I believe thou comest to Town to look after me. Don't stay to hurt thy health. If I can do it, it shall be done as well in thy absence as if thou wast here;" which he accordingly performed in about three weeks or a month, when I was in the Country.

When this was over, we went to the rest of the company, and so to dinner; after which, he and I, and a gentleman, who hath since, at a certain time, made a great figure in our Politicks, fell into a debate concerning whatever was necessary to be done to quiet the nation; and what measures ought to be taken to make People willing to establish, *by law*, an *impartial* liberty of Conscience. I proposed, as one step, issuing out such a General Pardon as should bring over all the outlaws from Holland. Mr. Penn seconded me so roundly, and warmly, that I am confident it was as much his as my own opinion; and that, though I first started it then, it was his thoughts before. The third Person, though then, and still an eminent Whigg, strenuously opposed us. What secret reasons he had for doing so, I can't tell, but what he gave us with a great deal of warmth, seemed to me very weak, and I have since thought (because he soon went to the Prince of Orange) that it is possible he artfully intended to obstruct so popular a Measure as that would have been. But whatever was his design is not much to my present purpose, and all I desire may be observed from this my third Conversation with Mr. Penn, is the good-natured care Mr. Penn took *by dropping it*; not to provoke the King by Aaron's Petition,

and the strong inclination Mr. Penn wisely and honestly had for real Acts of Indemnity.

And here I will confess this, his behaviour confirmed me in so good an opinion of Mr. Penn, that I thenceforwards frequented his company, and talked freely with him upon any subject; and after we had been together two or three times more, he proposed to carry me to the King in his Closet. I agreed to go, and he got the Audience appointed; and as we went Mr. Penn encouraged and advised me to speak boldly, (I followed his Instructions, and, amongst other things, when I was speaking concerning Liberty of Conscience, I told the King that, though I was sure my Charity was as Catholick as he thought his faith, yet I could not contribute towards settling the Liberty of Conscience he was pursuing, unless the Church of England was, at the same time, made secure of being the national Religion, and the Civil Liberties of my Country were also secured; to which the King calmly answered, I assure you I have no design upon either.

When I came away, Mr. Penn commended me for speaking my mind so plainly; and told me, I need not have blushed, which, he said, he observed me sometimes to do, and particularly when I compared my Catholick Charity to the King's faith.

Soon after this, Mr. Penn went into Yorkshire, and, during his absence, that justly suspicious and offensive Measure of regulating Corporations was resolved on. At this I was excessively alarmed, and, therefore, went, *with a design to take my Leave of him*, to meet Mr. Penn at his Lodgings at Kensington, the Day I was told he would return. He did return at the time he had set, and, after common Civilities, and being, by nature, very passionate, and then very young, I fell into a vehement Declamation against regulations. Mr. Penn let me spend my fury, and, after it was over, told me he did not know what I meant, but desired me to tell him coolly what had so disturbed me. I then talked over the matter

with more temper, and, when I had done, he assured me that was the first time he had ever heard any thing of it; "for, said he, I have been in Yorkshire to visit my Brother and Sister Lowther, and, that I might enjoy their Company with greater satisfaction, I took care to prevent any body's writing to me any thing relating to Publick Affairs; but now I have one thing to desire of thee. What thou hast said hath made impression upon me, and I intreat thee to send me thy thoughts by the Penny Post, without setting thy name to thy Letter, but prithee write with as much vehemence as thou spokest at first; for that warmth will make them enter more into my mind." This Request, I must confess, convinced me that he had no hand in setting on foot that Measure; and I complied with him, but little imagined what use he intended to make of that Letter. That, and several other Anonymous Letters which he, by honest artifice, from time to time, got from me, he showed to the King, but never would let His Majesty know who wrote them; but Mr. Penn having brought me to the King, his Majesty sometimes talked to me. The generality of what the King at any time said to me, and what I answered, I shall reserve to be inserted in my Memoirs, but one thing I will, because it brings in Mr. Penn's mention now. [The last time I ever spoke to His Majesty in England, which was above a twelvemonth before he went away, the King, when I objected against the measures which he was betrayed into, and proved afterwards his ruin, and which I then told him highly provoked the Church of England, seemed to lay great stress upon, and place his Security in, the Church of England's belief of passive obedience. Upon this I replied, that I could not imagine that His Majesty ought to venture much upon an expectation that they would live up to that Doctrine; for, said I, perhaps it is but a great compliment in the mouths of most Men. It is like telling a Lady that she is an Angel, and a Goddess, when we intend to use her like a Woman. I think myself as firm a Believer as any Body that

that Episcopacy, which is called the Church of England, established by law, is the best of all Religions; and yet, I never intended to believe (since I could form any Belief) Passive Obedience; and I am sure there is a Multitude who never go out of Conscience, whatever they may do out of curiosity, to, or ever so much as once communicate with, any other Congregation, who are of my Sentiments. But, continued I, for argument sake, I will grant as much as your Majesty can desire, and that is, that the greatest part of the Church of England do sincerely believe, Resistance *upon any pretence whatsoever* is unlawful; but, now I have allowed this, give me leave to ask your Majesty, whether the same men don't believe drunkenness and common swearing to be sins? and don't you, nevertheless, find many of them do drink very hard, and swear very often? These last, Sir, are indisputed Crimes, disavowed by all Christians, as well as by them; how then can you be certain, or expect that the same Men will live up, when provoked, to a disputed Principle, when they so often commit faults which Christians of all Denominations agree to be Sins? Upon this the King smilingly told me, I was not enough of the Church of England to know how far their Loyalty would carry them; and so I made my bow and went away. As soon as I saw Mr. Penn I told him, as I always did, what had passed between the King and me. But Mr. Penn had been, in the interval, with the King, and so he began, as he had a great Talent that way, to rally me very facetiously upon my bluntness; and when he had made himself merry with me as long as he thought fit, Mr. Penn told me the King liked me for my sincerity, and I would have thee (said he) think of some place. "The King hath a mind thou shouldst be in Commission of the Peace, and a Member of the next Parliament, and a Corporation will be found where some honest gentleman will bring thee in. To all which I replied, as to a place, I had given him formerly my answer upon the Terrass Walk. As to being a Justice of peace, he knew

there were great misunderstandings between me and some of the principal Officers of the Forest, and I was resolved as far as I could, to protect (which indeed he helped me to do) the poor People, Inhabitants of it, and that therefore I could not consent that I should be liable to have forest Business brought before me; and Lastly, as to being a Member of Parliament, I told him I should be glad, if a Regulated Parliament did any good, but, by the help of God, I would never make one amongst them. [After this, finding my obstinacy created no coldness in Mr. Penn, I kept on my friendship with him, but from that time I industriously avoided coming in the King's way, in any place where he might single me out to speak to me upon Business; for I was apprehensive lest I should have been too indecent, if the King had spoken to me, and seconded the Message which he had sent by Mr. Penn. The King, however, had, from time to time, my thoughts in the many invective anonymous Letters, which, with so good a Design, Mr. Penn drew from me upon every occasion; and, about this juncture, Mr. Penn himself gave the greatest proofs as well of his Integrity as good nature; for he was not only helping every man he could out of his troubles, he was not only busy in getting particular Pardons, but daily pressing for a *real General one*. And farther, finding himself oppressed, as I may call it, by the opposition, others made to the honest and universal Measures which he would have propagated, and set on foot, and in order likewise to hinder all the Mischief others were doing, he solicited many of the State Whiggs to come in to his assistance, and carried several of them to the King.

Amongst those State Whiggs there were some who, instead of helping Mr. Penn, vilely complied with every thing, whilst the unfortunate King James had any likelihood to keep his Crown; but as soon as they thought the Design of the Prince of Orange would be successful, they turned as violently

against that misled Prince who they had then ever helped to mislead.

I forbear to blot my paper with the names of such wicked miscreants; but I will take this opportunity, to do justice to three men, very great after the Revolution, to whom Mr. Penn applied. And those three were Lord Somers, Secretary Trenchard, and my Lord Chief Justice Treby.

As for that most universal, and most finished man that ever was bred to the Law, (I mean of those who perfectly understood, which Bacon did not, the Profession,) my Lord Somers, he, from a natural shyness, refused to go to the King, tho' he was, by Mr. Penn, offered from His Majesty to be made Solicitor General, before it was ever proposed to Sir William Williams, and consequently before the Bishops' Trial. But Mr. Secretary Trenchard, upon a Letter which Mr. Penn desired me to write, and whereof I have, (lodged amongst my other papers, which are the Materials of my Memoirs, a Copy, as well as his original answer) came over from Holland, and behaved himself perfectly like a man of Honour; for without laying aside the good manners he was master of, or telling the least syllable of past times, or what he knew before his arrival, he fairly and frankly told the King wherein he thought he mistook his own Interests; and yet he did it in so handsome a manner, that, upon his Gentleman-like behaviour, Mr. Penn prevailed with the King to resolve to make him, (had not the Revolution come on,) what he was afterwards, Lord Chief Justice of Chester.

My Lord Chief Justice Treby also deserves the utmost commendation; for he went to the King, and amongst other things, told his Majesty, that he was confident that he himself was, and he believed many other Whiggs were, misrepresented as enemies to the prerogative; whereas, he and they were sensible the Prerogative, discreetly used, was necessary for the protection of the Subject; and yet he said, as willing as he was to serve the King, and as much as he was

for Liberty of Conscience, he could not join in the methods by which it was then attempted to be introduced.

What he so honorably said, was not only told me by Mr. Penn, but several years after, when my Lord Chief Justice Treby permitted me to have a good deal of intimacy with him, by my Lord Chief Justice himself.

And one thing more I will, with great satisfaction, say of the two last mentioned Persons, which is, that I never knew that either of them did, after the Revolution, in their respective Offices, but one thing which any impartial man can say so much as, bordered upon severity towards the Nonjurors. On the contrary, they both, upon my application, helped several out of their troubles, as likewise my Lord Somers did Dr. Turner, the deprived Bishop of Ely; Dr. Hicks, the deprived Dean of Worcester, and many more upon my speaking, and writing to him.

I am sensible I may be thought to have gone out of my way; but my inclination to rescue the Memories of three so great men, (who honoured Mr. Penn and me, tho' they knew we differed from them in one great point, with their particular friendship, till the time of their Deaths;) from the unjust imputations of some warm writers, who have, without regard to truth, charged them in Pamphlets, with cruelty, hath occasioned their Digression.

I return to Mr. Penn, who, the Summer before the Revolution, desired me to board him and his Family, at my House, near Windsor. I never did any thing of that nature either before or since, except once for a few Months to conceal, under feigned Names, two Children, at the Request of their Protestant Mother, from a Father-in-Law, who was a Roman Catholick, and would have brought the Children up in his Religion. But Mr. Penn having done so many good-natured things upon my proposing them, and I having room enough to spare, I prevailed with my Wife to let him, and his Lady and part of his Family, to be with us most part of that Summer,

and he would not be with us unless he paid for his Board. Whilst Mr. Penn was so much with me in the Country, and I so much with him in London, I had an opportunity, unsought for by me, of observing the behaviour of several both Dissenters and State Whiggs; but not delighting to expose the Deformities of the minds of Men, any more than I do their bodily defects, I shall be silent concerning them, but some things which passed, I think proper to mention.

I took my Barr-Gown this Summer; and before the call, some of us who intended to be called, and who never took the Sacrament in any other but the Church of England, had a meeting, and Debated amongst ourselves, whether it was necessary at that time for us to take the Sacrament, to qualify ourselves for taking the Gown. When it came to my turn to speak, I said, as for those who did not formerly communicate with the Church of England, I would not blame them, whether they were Protestant or Popish Dissenters, tho' they should omit the Sacrament; first, because they ought not by their Principles, to take it in Church, and then, because I thought the making of it a Qualification was both a hard Law upon them, and a debasement of the Sacrament itself; but, as for us who had always profess'd ourselves of the Church of England, and thought omitting to take it at that juncture, would look like being too indifferent whether that Church was continued the established one, and as if we were favourers of the Dispensing power, and that therefore, by God's leave I would, as I did, take it.

Amongst us was a Sycophant, who, some time after, omitting the first, told Mr. Penn the latter part of what I said; and also gave him an account of what answer I had made, when an address was proposed to me to sign upon the Birth of the Prince of Wales, in which address there was, in the congratulatory part, this extraordinary expression, "*Which Blessing, they believed God had bestowed upon him and us, because he had so well exercised the Dispensing Power.*"—I told

the Benchers who had proposed the address to me, that I would not sign it for all the World. He asked me my reasons; I told him I was not one of those who questioned, or went about to question, the Birth of the Prince of Wales; but I thought I was too lately called to the Bar to give my opinion, under my hand, whether or no the King had a Dispensing Power; and besides, it looked like subscribing to a miraculous Conception; and, though I believed the King got the Child, I believed he got it in the same manner as I got my Children, and not by virtue of the Dispensing Power.—The Benchers I thus answered, told it to that honest, cheerful, and witty old Man, Mr. Wallop, who was so taken with the humorous way of my expressing myself, that I know not what became of the address; Mr. Wallop rallied me, whenever he met me, upon giving that answer, and so it easily came to the Ears of the worthy Informer, and he thought to make his court to Mr. Penn by telling this and the aforesaid story.

But all that Mr. Penn replied upon hearing both, was that I was an honest man, but would go my own way; and instead of growing colder, offered me, the very next time he came down into the Country, to bring my Lord Chancellor Jefferies, who did not, (tho' he went himself too much in with the Court, mislike a Man for being stiff for the Church of England, to junket, as Mr. Penn called it, one evening; and Mr. Penn again pressed me to come into Parliament, and the Commission of Peace; I declined both: But certainly, these Offers to me, when I was so lately charged with behaving myself obstinately; and, in relation to the address, as it were a little ludicrously; evidently proved Mr. Penn designed honestly, and liked a man the more for behaving himself so.

But before I go further, I must set down Mr. Penn's own behaviour, that Summer, in relation to the Bishops who were sent to the Tower.—He was not only against their Commitment; but, the day the Prince of Wales was born, he went to the King, and pressed him exceedingly to set them at

liberty, and to order, in Council, a General Pardon to be issued out, as soon as it could pass the Seals.—He pressed most heartily to have both done, and told His Majesty, that, on that happy Day, every body ought to rejoice, which they would do, if the Bishops were let out; and it was generally known such a Pardon would soon be proclaimed. Mr. Penn hoped the occasion would have made him succeed in both Proposals; and I suppose all men must own, it was unhappy for the King that he did not follow Mr. Penn's advice. But there were about the King some villainous Knaves, and others who were as visionary fools (I can't help calling them so), who sat themselves against every wise measure that was laid before that unfortunate Prince, either by Mr. Penn, or any body else; and they overpersuaded the King not to lay hold of so good an opportunity to regain the affections of multitudes of his People, who were justly startled; and much provoked, by seeing the right reverend Fathers of the Church illegally committed to Prison.

The same knaves and fools had afterwards too much success, in prevailing with the King to lay aside a Measure which might very probably have kept the Crown upon his head, even after the Prince of Orange was landed; which was, to make the State Whiggs Arbitrators between the King and that Prince.

(A correct copy.—Gr. P.)

FRAGMENTS

OF

AN APOLOGY FOR HIMSELF.

BY

WILLIAM PENN.

**COPIED FROM THE ORIGINAL AUTOGRAPHS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE
AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.**

Read at a meeting of the Society, February 1, 1836.

FRAGMENTS, &c.

BEING prest by an act of State and the necessity of the times, as well as my own and other circumstances—all Intreatys and applications for a quiet liveing with my family here or in America, under any security that reasonably can be asked being rejected—I have taken in hand to pen and publish *An Apology for Myself*—and because plain Fact is the best Defence an Honest Man can at any Time make for himselfe, I have chosen to give the World *Some Account of My Life*, especially the last Part of it since '84, being that which has fallen most under Censure and Exception; in which I hope to govern myself by God's Assistance in that manner as to give no offence to Jew or Gentile, and least of all to the Government.

I arrived from America the 6th of October, '84, at Winder, in Sussex, being within 7 miles of my own house; Whence, after some days of Refreshment, I went to waite upon the King and Duke, then both at New Market, who received me very graciously, as did the Ministers very civilly: Yet I found things in generall with another face than I left them: sower and stern and resolved to hold the Reins of Powr with a stiffer hand than heretofore, especially over those that were observed to be State or Church Dissenters, conceiving that the Opposition which made the Government uneasy came from that sort of People, and therefore they should either bow or break.

This made it hard for me, a profest Dissenter, to turn myself—for that Party having been my Acquaintance, my Inclination, and my Interest too: to shift them I would not, to serve them I saw I could not, and to keep fair with a displeased and resolved Government, that had weathered its point upon them, humbled and mortified them, and was dayly improving all Advantages against them was a difficult task to performe.

Finding myself narrowed in this manner, that one Day I was received well at Court as Proprietor and Governor of a Province of the Crown, and the next taken up at a meeting by Hilton or Collingwood, and the third smoakt(?) and informed of for meeting with men of the Whig Stamp;—After informing myself of the State of Things, I cast about in Mind what way I might be helpfull to the Publick, and as little hurtfull to my concerns as I could, for I had then a cause depending about Bounds of Land in America with the Lord Baltimore before the Council, that was of importance to me.

Upon the whole matter, I found no point so plain, so honest, so sensible, that carryed such weight, conviction, and compassion with it, and that would consequently find an easier reception and more friends than Liberty of Conscience, my old Post and Province. I therefore sought out some bleeding cases, which was not hard to do, Bristol, Norwich, &c. being ready at hand in bloody letters—barbaritys never used certainly in a Protestant Country—especially at Bristoll.—The relations are in print.—But finding them uneasy under generals as too much to grant at once, I began with a particular case.—It was that of Richard Vickris, an honest, sober, and sensible man, of good reputation and estate in that City.—He was under Sentence of Death upon the Statute of the 35th of Queen Elizabeth, for not abjuring the Realm as Dr. Cheney did that was under Sentence.—His crime only worshipping of God his own way, but could not abjure because

he could not swear at all. The Heat had been great in that City, and an Example they would make, and chose these two men as eminent in their Perswasion and as haveing something to lose. But the thing looked so like a Saare, the Fruit of Private Malice and Avarice and the said R. Vickris being a meek and quiet person—upon my assuring them he was, and would live peaceably under the Government, the Duke promised to press the King in his Favour, who grew harsh and very tender to be spoken to upon that head, tho' for the very Papiats in the new case of the Long Writ set a foot about that time: And the Duke was as good as his word.—He was pardoned.—

That my Design might succeed the better with the King, it came into my mind to write something of the True Interest of King and Kingdom, have it transcribed fair, and present it in Manuscript, the times being too sett(?) and rough for Priat. In this I undertook to shew that since it was so, that his Kingdom was divided into such great Bodys, opposit to each other, and near an Equality in Strength and Value, all things considered, the' not perhaps in number, and that nothing would serve either party but the Ruine of the other, and that it was too great a loss to his Crown to gratify either so far, he was not to suffer his Authority to humour their Passions, but overrule both with justice, wisdom, and goodness; that he might be King and have the benefit of his whole People:—Adding that *He* might be easy if the uneasy are made so, and not sooner—and that the Revenue was not as in old Time upon Tenures and in Lands, but upon Trade which lay much in the hands of the Party he was angry with—however, that it would discourage and confound Trade to be sure, if he changed the Course of his Government, and therefore to look upon past things as a King, and not as a Man, without Passion, and not suffer his own resentment or his Minister's Flatterys, Interests, or Revenges to carry him further than was good for *his* Interest—And that upon the

Tryal of a True Liberty of Conscience he would find
more the advantage of the Crown than any private
man or particular Party.

* * * * *

The first time I went to Court after I had embraced the communion I am of, was in '68. The business that engaged me, was the suffering condition of my Friends in several parts of this kingdom, the cause of it, tenderness of conscience, no evil fact. Those in company with me, were George Whithead, Josiah Coale, and Thomas Loe. The person went to was the Duke of Buckingham; but our application at that time did not answer our expectation, tho' in his own inclinations he favoured the principle of liberty of conscience.

The second time I went to court, was the same summer and upon the same errand, in company of G. Whithead and Josiah Coale. We addressed ourselves to Sir Henry Berwick then Secretary of State, with whom our business had no better success than before. I was much toucht with the sense of our Friends many and great hardships, and the more for that they were inflicted in a Protestant Country, and came from Protestant hands—and could not but think the severities they lay under, for meer conscience to God, must necessarily bring the very Protestant Religion under scandal abroad. Being Protestants in all those points, wherein the very Church of England might claim that title, and whose main point was a strict and holy life. This made it seem reasonable and requisite to me, to make their sufferings and them better known to those in authority: charitably hoping that if they would give themselves the leisure, to be truly informed of both, they

would afford them better quarter in their own country than Stocks, Whips, Gaols, Dungeons, Præmunires, Fines, Sequestrations and Banishment, for their peaceable dissent in matters relative to Faith and Worship, and accordingly I had framed a scheme to myself for that purpose. But it so fell out, that towards the close of that year, I was made incapable of prosecuting the resolution I had taken, and the plan I had layd of this affair by a close and long imprisonment in the Tower of London, for a book I writ, called "*The Sandy Foundation Shaken,*" occasioned by some reflections made upon us and our Principles, by one Tho. Vincent, a Dissenting Minister, because some of his Congregation enclined to be of our Perswasion.

[That which engaged the Bishop of London to be warm in my Persecution, was the credit some Presbyterian Ministers had with him, and the *mistake* they improved against me, of *my denying the Divinity of Christ, and the Doctrine of the Trinity.*]

I was committed the beginning of December; and was not discharged till the Fall of the Leaf following; wanting about fourteen days of nine months.

As I saw very few, so I saw them but seldom, except my own Father and Dr. Stillingfleet, the present Bishop of Worcester. The one came as my relation, the other at the Kings command to endeavour my change of judgment. But as I told him, and he told the King that the Tower was the worst argument in the world to convince me; for whoever was in the wrong, those who used force for Religion could never be in the right—so neither the Doctor's arguments, nor his moving and interesting motives of the Kings favour and preferment at all prevailed; and I am glad I have the opportunity to own so publickly the great pains he took, and humanity he showed, and that to his moderation, learning and kindness I will ever hold myself obliged.

This Fall began to be troublesome to the Dissenters in Ge-

neral and the People called Quakers in particular; the hands lifted up at others oftentimes falling heavy upon them who had not the interest or latitude, to use the arts others did to avoid suffering.

Within six weeks after my enlargement, I was sent by my Father to settle his Estate in Ireland, where I found those of that Kingdom under too general persecution, and those of the City of Cork almost all in Prison; and the Gaol by that means became a Meeting-house, and a Work-house, for they would not be idle any where. I was sorry to see so much sharpness from English to English, as well as from Protestants to Protestants; where their interest was civilly and nationally the same, and their Profession of Religion fundamentally so too. Having informed myself of their case, and grounds of this severity as near as they could inform me, (which without doubt was at least as much from envy about trade, as zeal for Religion,) I adjourned all private affairs to my return from Dublin, whither in a few days I went post, and after conferring with my Friends at that city, and digesting the whole into a general state of our case, I went with two or three of them to the Castle, and

* * * * *

The third time I came to Court was in '73, having not frequented it for five years. The business that drew me thither was the imprisonment of that servant of God, my worthy friend George Fox, in Worcester Castle—the cause worshipping of God after another manner than that of the Church of England—and least it should prove too feeble a tie to hold him, the Justices of the Peace that had layd his commitment, officiously tendered him the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, not that he should take them, but because they were pretty sure he would not take them, as a Supplemental

snare to gratify their humour and accomplish their design against him. This ending in a Præmunire, and ~~falling~~ applications in the country, were like to succeed for his deliverance out of the hands of some angry obstinate persons: it was resolved amongst us at London, to remove him by Habeas Corpus to the Kings Bench, and to try what we could do at the court to procure his discharge.

It fell to my lot to go on this errand, in which solicitation William Mead accompanied me. The person we first addressed ourselves to was the Earl of Middlesex, now also Dorsat; who advised us to make our application to the Duke of York, as most powerful with the King, and that if he would receive us, that no body would be more zealous to perform what he undertook; adding he would speak to him, and that Fleetwood Shepherd should introduce us.

The time being fixt, we found that gentleman as was agreed, and went with him to the Duke's Palace, where he endeavoured our admission by the means of the Dutchess's Secretary; but the house being very full of People, and the Duke of business, the said Secretary could neither procure our nor his own admission; but Col. Aston, of the Bed-chamber, then in waiting, and my old acquaintance and friend, (yet I had not seen him in some years before) looking hard at me, thinking he should know me, askt me in the Drawing Room, first my name and then my business; and upon understanding both, he presently gave us the favour we waited for, of speaking with the Duke, who came immediately out of his Closet to us.

After something I said, as an introduction to the business, I delivered him our Request. He perused it, and then told us, "that he was against all Persecution for the sake of Religion. That it was true he had in his younger time been ~~warm~~, especially, when he thought people made it a pretence to disturb Government—but, that he had seen and considered things better, and he was for doing to others as he would have

others do unto him; and he thought it would be happy for the world if all were of that mind, for he was sure, he said, that no man was willing to be persecuted himself for his own conscience." He added, "that he looked upon us as a quiet industrious people, and tho' he was not of our judgment, yet he liked our good lives," with much more to the same purpose, promising he would speak to his brother, and doubted not but that the King's Counsel would have orders in our Friends favour.

I and my Companion spoke as occasion offered to recommend both our business and our character, but the less because he prevented us in the manner I have expressed.

When he had done upon this affair, he was pleased to take a very particular notice of me, both for the relation my Father had had to his service in the Navy, and the care he had promised him to show in my regard upon all occasions. That he wondered I had not been with him, and that whenever I had any business thither, he would order that I should have access—after which he withdrew, and we returned.

This was my first visit to the Court after five years retirement, and this the success of it, and the first time I had spoken with him since '65. That it should be grateful to me was no wonder; and perhaps that with some was the beginning of my faults at Court: but what impression it made upon my companion, and the expressions he used to declare it, cannot well escape the memory of F. Shepherd, to whom in the Garden he presently related what had past, and his own extraordinary satisfaction, both in that and the Duke.

NOTE BY THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

These Fragments have not been arranged in their Chronological order—the one referring to the latest period, being made the first, on account of its elaborated Preface. Whether they were all written at the same time is unknown; we may, however, be almost certain, that they were produced between the years 1688, and 1695; a period during which his former connexion with, and friendship for the dethroned Monarch rendered him an object of suspicion and persecution, and called for the Apology attempted in these pages. It is to be hoped that these are not the only Fragments of this work in existence, and that our honoured associate Granville Penn will search for, amongst the papers of his Grand-father, and, if found, furnish for publication the other "*brouillons*" of this interesting Autobiography. May we not even indulge a hope that the *completed work* may yet be discovered?

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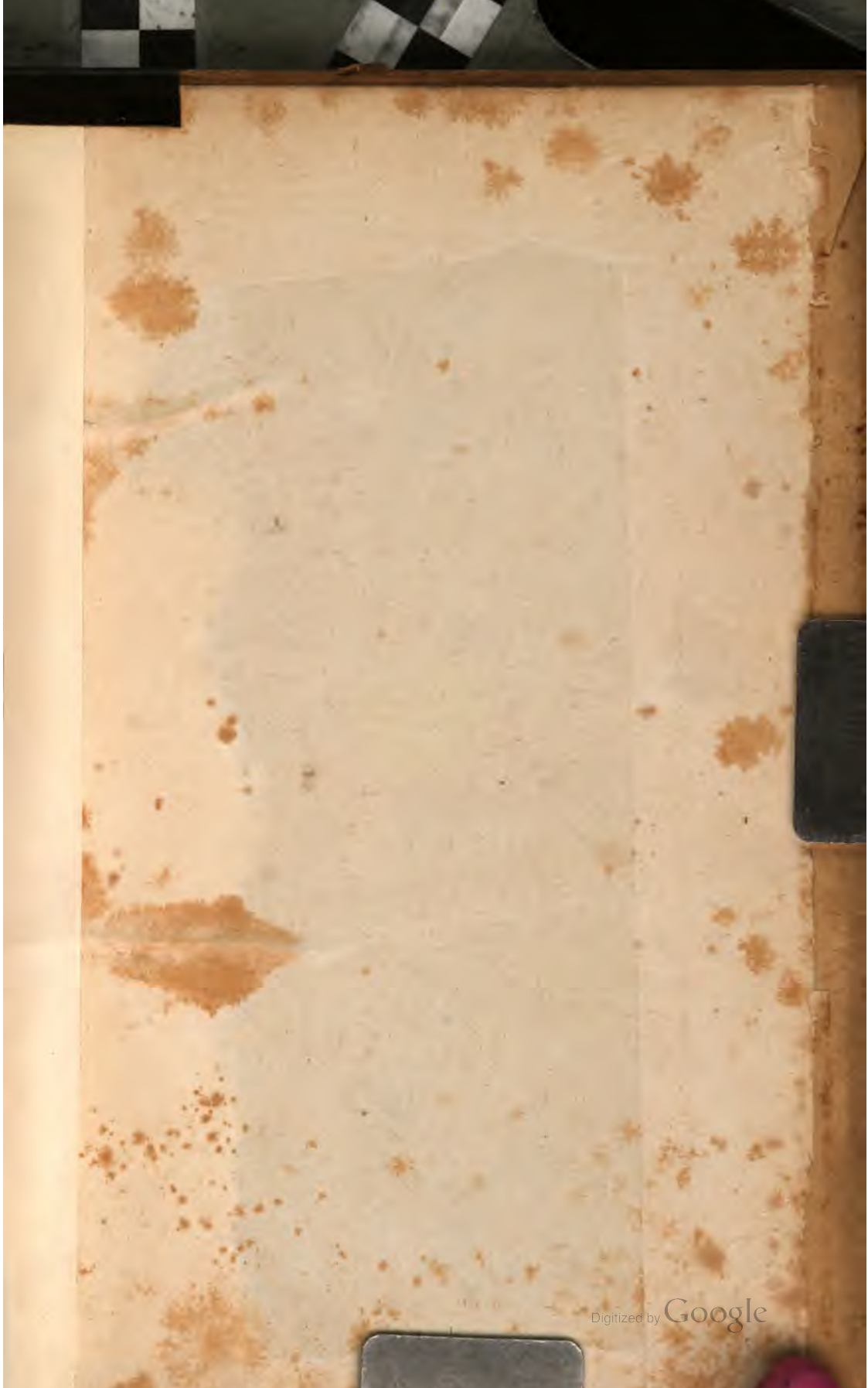
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